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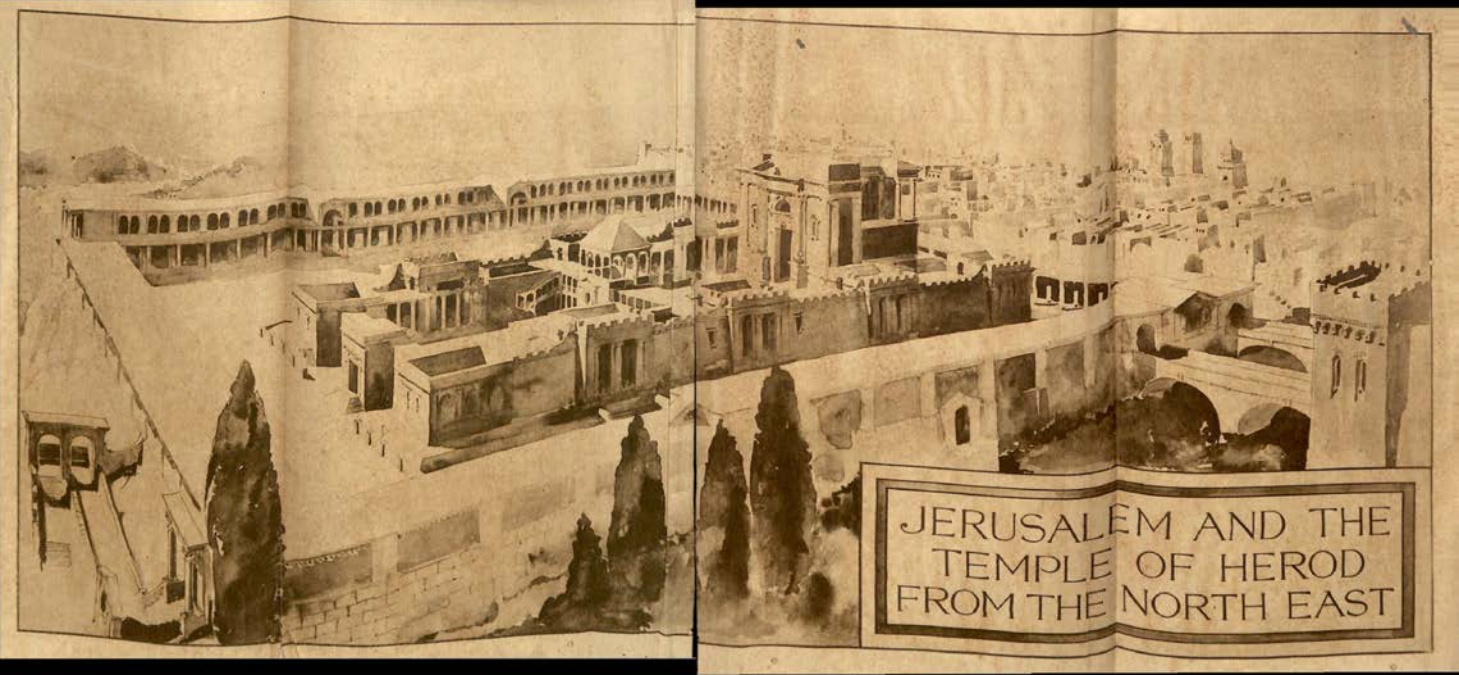
JERUSALEM AND THE
TEMPLE OF HEROD
FROM THE NORTH EAST

SACRED SITES OF THE GOSPELS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS AND PLANS

BY

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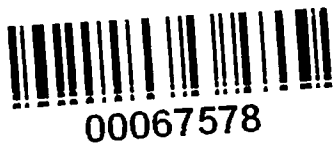

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PREFACE

THIS little book has two excuses, which may perhaps amount to reasons, for its existence. I do not count as either of them the fact that I paid a brief visit to Palestine in the spring of last year (1902). However great the value of this to myself personally, I could not for a moment think of it as conferring a title to instruct others or to speak with any real authority. I soon came to the conclusion that the close examination of details must be left to experts. The two or three weeks of an ordinary traveller's stay are not sufficient to give him more than a broad general view of the conditions.

Of the two reasons to which I have referred the first was purely personal. I have undertaken to write, or attempt to write, a Life of our Lord; and I was anxious to lighten this of a certain amount of topographical matter that would otherwise have to find a place in it. In so doing, I shall also hope to have the benefit of criticism which may be utilized later.

My second reason and my main excuse for inflicting what is thus a rather experimental volume upon the public, is that my duties have given me some experience in the study of literary texts; and I was rather surprised to find how much such studies, and even the Lower Criticism—the humblest of all the

handmaids of Science—may sometimes have to contribute to questions that in their way are of some importance. I was confirmed in this feeling by what was almost the last piece of literature to pass through my hands, the article of Dr. Zahn's mentioned in a note on p. 93. This article unfortunately came to my notice later than it should have done and not until the sheets of the book were already in type. I should much like to discuss it on a really adequate scale and without any avoidance of technicalities; and I hope to embrace an opportunity of doing this. But the questions involved so go to the root of the whole textual criticism of the New Testament, that it seems well to wait until we have Prof. von Soden's great work on the Text—now, I am glad to think, nearing completion—actually before us. In the meanwhile it is perhaps right for me to say that on the particular point at issue, much as I regret to find myself in opposition to some whom I respect most highly as authorities, I am not as yet shaken in my own opinion.

This is not the only instance in which the position of a controverted question has altered somewhat while the book has been preparing. I can only hope that the Index may make it possible for the reader to keep pace with such changes and to correct an earlier impression by a later, where that is necessary. Of all the decisions that I had come to, the site of Capernaum is that as to which my own doubts are strongest.

The first three chapters were delivered in substance as lectures after my return in the summer term of last year. I have allowed them to keep the lecture form, though I have since added a short chapter that was not delivered in the same way. The whole work has been strictly a *πάρεργον*, that has been written at odd moments in the midst of other work; and I should not be surprised if it bore some marks of this origin. As it progressed the ambition grew in me to try to present to the eye of the reader some of those features in the Palestine of the present that I had myself found most suggestive, and at the same time to enable him to follow me in the steps by which I was myself seeking to reconstruct the Palestine of the past.

For the first of these purposes it was sufficient to reproduce a few selected photographs, for the second it was necessary to have recourse to professional aid. And in this connexion I must express my warmest thanks to my friend Mr. Paul Waterhouse, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., to whom I am indebted for the perspective view of ancient Jerusalem which forms the frontispiece, and for the plan and sections of the Herodian Temple, as well as for the notes explaining the details of his work. It will be seen with what keen interest and skill Mr. Waterhouse has entered into this inquiry. It has been a special pleasure to me that we have worked together in such complete agreement. The maps and the plan of Jerusalem have been made for me by Messrs. Darbishire and

Stanford of Oxford, whom I must also thank for their intelligent and willing co-operation. And I should not like to leave unacknowledged the taste and good judgement so freely placed at my disposal at the Clarendon Press.

One who ventures to write on Palestine without being an Orientalist is obliged to take much at secondhand. In the transliteration of Arabic names I have in the main followed Baedeker, with one or two concessions to more familiar forms. My friend and colleague Dr. Driver very kindly corrected the greater part of the proofs for me in this respect.

It will, I believe, sufficiently appear from the notes where my obligations have been greatest. Special acknowledgements are due to the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, who readily gave permission for the use of their maps and photographs. The more outlying objects (e.g. Plates XVII—XIX, XXI, XXIII B, XXXV) are taken from their series. With a few exceptions the remaining photographs are by the American Colony at Jerusalem (Vester) or by Bonfils of Beirût.

OXFORD, *Easter*, 1903.

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ABBREVIATIONS

D. B. *Dictionary of the Bible.*

NkZ. *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.*

PEFQ. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.*

R.-E., PRE[3]. Hauck-Herzog, *Protestantische Real-Encyklopädie.*

ZDPV. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.*

Z. ntl. Wiss. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

I

THE EXTERNAL ASPECT OF PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST

THE traveller who goes to the Holy Land in the hope of recovering some impression of the external conditions of the life of Christ has a difficult task before him. In Palestine there is no Pompeii to take him back at one step into the very heart of the past, and not only of the past vaguely, but of the particular past of which he is in search; to preserve it for him, as it were, hermetically sealed all through the centuries, and to set it before his eyes certainly authentic and unadulterated, free from all admixture of anything save that which he is seeking. An experience like that of Palestine serves to bring home to us the immense and unique value of Pompeii in helping us to revive for ourselves the picture of ancient life. What would we not give for such an example on the soil of Palestine, really and indisputably belonging to the time before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A. D.?

As it is, we have to work our way painfully back to the past from the present by a long process of analysis, elimination and reconstruction. We have to take the present as it were to pieces, and put aside those elements in it that are not relevant, and then to put together as well as we can the few crumbling and disfigured fragments that are left. We speak of the 'unchanging East';

and it is true that there are certain common attributes of Eastern peoples that have a way of persisting through change. But, in the case of Palestine, the larger part of what we seek does not come under this description. We have only to think of the succession of more or less alien elements intruded into the unhappy country since the date that we are considering. First the Roman in greater dominance; then the Byzantine; then the Saracen; then the Crusader; then the Saracen again, stronger and more pervading than before; then the Turk; not to speak of the modern invasion, German colonies, colonies of modern Jews, Roman Catholic religious orders in great numbers and force, Russian churches and huge establishments for pilgrims, British and American schools and missions.

All these last bear their modernness upon their face, and are easily put aside. But the others have entered into the grain more deeply. Most of all, most by far, the Saracen. If we ask what it is that gives Jerusalem its stamp most conspicuously to the eye at the present day, we should answer, undoubtedly the Saracen.

Of all the successive layers deposited one above the other on the sacred soil, the Saracenic is uppermost[1].

In the first place, the whole of the vast Temple area, though very much pre-Saracenic in its substructures and, so to speak, in its lower courses and materials, has yet been so transformed and adapted to Saracenic ends that the Saracen really dominates over all besides. And the Temple area, as we now see it, culminates in the Mosque of Omar or Dome of the Rock, which is beyond all comparison the most striking and beautiful thing

[1] 'La ville est restée sarrasine' (Pierre Loti, *Jérusalem*, p. 52).

in Jerusalem. Here, too, the columns and capitals and marbles may be actually taken from pagan temples or Constantinian or Byzantine churches; and it may be true enough that the original architects and workmen were Christians who developed their art from Byzantine models; but none the less here, as in so many instances elsewhere, the presiding genius is Saracenic, and the wonderful effect that we now see was given to it by the Saracens: the outer casing of encaustic tiles, the deep rich mosaic, not in lines of figures as at Ravenna, but in conventional patterns of flowers set in vases and covering the walls with their luxuriant growth, the endless play and glow of stained glass, the artistic bands of Cufic writing, the arabesques of cornice and dome.

The Temple area is Saracen; the city walls also are Saracen. However far back the foundations may go in some sections, and although it may be true that the latest and most characteristic features are due to Solimân the Magnificent in 1537, i.e. in the Turkish period, it is the Saracenic spirit that really prevails. And as we wind our way through the bazaars and tortuous streets, and mingle in the many-coloured crowd, we feel that we are as much in a city that is essentially Saracenic as if we were in Damascus or in the old quarter of Cairo.

And I imagine that the same holds good of the smaller towns and villages. The dome and minaret are almost always the most picturesque and prominent objects. Only in comparatively few cases, as at Bethlehem, Nazareth and Cana of Galilee, does the Christian spirit really take the lead, and that spirit is at best in the form of mediaeval Byzantinism.

It is probable enough that in the time of our Lord there was also a very distinct Arabian element, clans of nomads settling on both sides of the Jordan; but there can be little doubt that since that day the process of 'Arabization' has gone much further. The great impulse, of course, was given by the conquest and rule of the successors of Mahomet; but in the last two centuries other causes have contributed to the same result[1].

On the fact of this 'Arabization' we have the expert testimony of Mr. Hogarth:—

'A certain degree of similarity in human character and an even greater similarity of language prevails over an immense area, where races of most various origin have all been assimilated more or less by the one which occupies the healthy crown of the land, the Arabian of Nejd[2].'

Unfortunately this Arabian influence is not good for the country. The Bedawîn has virtues and attractions on his native steppes which he is apt to lose in settled life; and he is a bad cultivator.

'For some centuries Palestine has been in the evil case of having to receive from time to time broken remnants of Hamad tribes worsted in desert warfare, who must perforce take up the uncongenial status of *fellaḥîn*. Such have no skill in agriculture and no heart. They impoverish the land and lightly abandon it to denudation and sand-drift; and it is largely due to them that Palestine, especially in the south of Judaea, is the waste that it is[3].'

[1] Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, p. 256. [2] Ibid. p. 255.
[3] Ibid. p. 264.

In spite of these adverse conditions, and in spite of the misgovernment which lies like a dead weight upon the land, one seems to see some signs of recuperation. But these are due to immigration of a different kind. Under any other government the prosperity of Palestine would advance by leaps and bounds.

Among the immigrants are the Jews, who of late have returned to Palestine in great numbers. And it might be thought that their restoration to their ancient home would help us in imagination to repeople the land as it was. But the Jews of the present—at least the Jewish settlers in Palestine—must be different beings from those of the past. The Jews, as they live for us in the pages of Josephus, were fierce, turbulent and fanatical, but of an unquenchable spirit and daring. But to the Jews, as we see them now, none of these epithets would be applicable. On this head I may quote Mr. Rider Haggard, whose impressions entirely coincided with our own:—

'As I had been informed that this city [Tiberias] was for the most part occupied by Jews, I was curious to see them, thinking that upon their native soil we should find representatives of the race more or less as it was when it defied the Roman eagles. I was destined to disappointment. Here were no harsh-eyed, stern-faced men, such as I had pictured. Here even was no Hebrew as we know him, strenuous, eager, healthy, and cosmopolitan. Far different are those Jews, for the most part of Russian or Polish origin, who dwell in Tiberias. At a little distance, in their dressing-gown-like robe, it is not easy to say whether individuals are men or women. Indeed, even when studied face to face their aspect is singularly sexless. Their complexions are curiously pallid

and unwholesome, while the hair of the men, often of a burning red, is arranged in two thin curls, which hang down oilily on either side of the forehead in front of the ears, like spare ringlets from the *chevelures* of our great-aunts. I asked David [the dragoman], who had dwelt among them for years, what this curious-looking folk did for a living. He replied: "Oh! they just sit about." So far as I could learn, this seems to describe the facts, but I understand that the means to sit about on are, for the most part, subscribed by charitable Hebrews in Europe and elsewhere. Many of the men are, however, engaged in a study of the Talmud, an occupation for which Tiberias is traditionally famous[1].'

The same description would hold good for the Jews' quarter of Jerusalem, which is the most crowded, filthy, and poverty-stricken of all the quarters of the city. But I believe there is some difference between the Ashkenazim (or Jews from the north, i. e. mainly from Poland, Russia, &c.), who are the more numerous, and the Sephardim (or Jews from the south, more particularly Spain), to the advantage of the latter. I also understood that the Jewish colonies, which at first were a heavy drain on their wealthy supporters in the West, now that they are handed over to the Alliance Israélite and the Jewish Colonization Society, are more systematically managed, and are improving. Mr. Robinson Lees, who lived for some years among them, says that 'some of

[1] *A Winter Pilgrimage in Palestine, Italy, and Cyprus* (London, 1901), p. 217. There is even stronger language in Fulleylove and Kelman, *The Holy Land* (London, 1902), p. 98. Mr. Kelman however recognizes that 'the spirit of the people is not broken by oppression as is the spirit of the Fellahîn. The Jew takes what comes and says little; but he believes in himself, his past and his future, with a faith indomitable as it is daring.'

the Jews are very industrious, and work from early morn till late at night for very low wages[1].' Dr. Wheeler, of the Medical Mission, who has also worked much among them, speaks with enthusiasm of many of their qualities. They probably live up to their religion, as they understand it, more strictly than most Christians. In this, and in their intense tenacity, they are true descendants of their forefathers. But these had probably more of the appearance of the Arab, and at least a finer physique and freer and bolder bearing. There are many sketches of 'typical Jews of Jerusalem' in Mons. Tissot's remarkable book[2]; but they will give a better idea of the Pharisees and Sadducees than of the Zealots, who more nearly represent the mass of the nation.

'Men, and not walls, make a city.' But in the endeavour to recall the image of the past we must make a study of the buildings as well as of the men. And here again we find ourselves baffled. It is true that there is no lack of ruins. Indeed, it might well be said that Palestine is a land of ruins. No unfortunate land has been so much fought over, harried, plundered and devastated—Roman trying to stamp out the irrepressible Jew, who in his turn instigates the ruthless Persian, Moslem seeking to wipe out traces of the Christian, or Christian seeking to wipe out traces of the Moslem; and wild Eastern hordes (like the Kharesmians[3] in 1244) destroying for sheer destruction's sake.

[1] *Jerusalem and its People*, p. 29.

[2] *The Life of our Lord Jesus Christ* (richly illustrated): London and Paris, 1897.

[3] These were a Turcoman tribe from the Sea of Aral and the Oxus, whose widespread dominion had been broken up by Genghis Khan in

And then in time of peace the ravages of fire have been added to the ravages of the sword.

It is often disappointing to find how little there is, even on the most sacred of sites, that is really ancient or in any sense primitive. The greater part of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre dates only from the last century. After I know not how many previous destructions and restorations, a disastrous fire destroyed most of it in 1808; and the dome that we now see was only finished in a nondescript style in 1868. The Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre itself dates from the same period. A few bits[1] of old work may be seen here and there, e.g. portions of a cornice in the façade, and the pillars and capitals in St. Helena's Chapel; but these are almost lost on the mass of modernization. The *Cenaculum*, or Upper Room, is part of a Franciscan church, later than the crusades and not built till the fourteenth century. Justinian's church, now the mosque *el-Aḳṣâ*[2], has been so cut about and has so lost its true proportions as to be hardly recognizable. The greatest amount of authentic material is to be seen in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the nave of which seems to be really the work of Constantine.

We need not indeed doubt that there are considerable

1220. Ten thousand of them were called in as mercenaries by the Fatimide Sultan Eyyub, and perpetrated fearful massacre and destruction in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. It is to the Tartars and Mongols from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries that are due the worst devastations in the East. Many regions have not recovered to this day.

[1] On these see especially Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom* (1901), p. 129 ff.

[2] 'i.e. the *far-off* (mosque), to which Mohammed pretended to have been transported by night (Ḳor. 17. 1), so called in opposition to the mosque of Mecca' (Dr. Driver).

remains from the first century of our era still existing. But they are doubly buried. Many of them are far below the surface. For instance, the ground of what was once the Tyropoeon (the valley between the eastern and western hill) is from fifty to eighty feet below the present level. And much that does not lie as deep as this is either built into or covered by houses. In spite of all that has been done by the engineers of the Palestine Exploration Fund, or by the independent researches of Dr. Schick and others, far more still remains to do. It is not easy to conduct architectural research beneath the foundations of a closely packed city.

The objects of Christian veneration that are nearer to the surface have been buried in another way. They are, and have been in the past, so thickly overlaid with ornament, placed there by devout worshippers, that it is well if any portion of the original is still visible.

I have said that the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, as we see it, is quite modern. The French writer Pierre Loti calls it a 'kiosk[1]'; and that best describes its external appearance. We should give it the epithet 'fantastic,' and almost 'tawdry'—which are obviously not the epithets that we should wish to give to the scene of our Lord's sepulchre and resurrection. Internally it is divided into two portions: the outer is called the Chapel of the Angels; the inner chapel, which is roughly about six feet square, is so completely encased with marble and gilding that no one would guess that it represented a rock-tomb. And yet the living rock may

[1] *Ut sup.* p. 56: 'Le grand kiosque de marbre, d'un luxe à demi barbare et surchargé de lampes d'argent.'

be seen in a cupboard used for keeping tapers, which opens out of the marble panelling. It seems that both Constantine (326–336) and Modestus (616–626), who restored the chapel after its destruction by the Persians under Chosroes II, sought to give the whole construction a monumental form[1]; so that even from the first the original character of the tomb was deliberately disguised.

The same rule holds of all the sacred sites, and we might say in proportion to their sanctity. The more sacred the site, the stronger was the impulse to adorn it. If we ourselves could choose, we should prefer rather to leave what was once made sacred scrupulously as it was, reserving our gold or precious stone for the setting, and careful not to let them come too near that which was more precious than they. But we cannot be surprised if the instinct of devotion has more often gone the other way. The first thought is to give of our best, and to draw near with it in our hands; it is the second thought to take the shoes from off the feet and to stand afar off.

In one way or another the remains of the first century are, for us, for the most part practically buried. But even where they come to sight, it is by no means easy to distinguish and identify them. For another consequence of the manifold destructions and restorations that the sites of the Holy Land have undergone is that even the wreckage has been thrown into almost inextricable confusion. It is rarely that our explorers are able to do as they did (e. g.) at Lachish, or as Schliemann did at Troy—slice off as it were one layer of deposit after another. That can only be done when the grass has

[1] Cf. Mommert, *Golgotha*, pp. 72, 198–204.

grown over the mound, and its contents have been left undisturbed. The later ruins of Palestine have not fared thus, but they have been turned inside out and upside down, so that the order of their succession is scarcely recoverable. At least it is not to be recovered on the spur of the moment by the casual amateur who spends his two or three weeks in Palestine. He will find his eye insufficiently trained, and he will soon come to the end of his criteria. He will do far better to resign himself to the judgement of experts like the late Dr. Schick or Dr. Bliss.

I have stated some of the difficulties that stand in the way of an exact knowledge of the external aspect of Palestine in the time of Christ. But an exact knowledge is one thing, a broad general conception of what we are to picture to ourselves is another. Such a conception is perhaps more within our reach.

Our object is to get back to the past through the present. And we ask by what process of subtraction and addition this can be done.

The answer would seem to be: first, that we must, so far as we can, *subtract the Saracen*, or at least eliminate so much of the Saracen as is not common to the whole Semitic family. On the other hand, that which is so common is perhaps the best basis that we have to build upon.

Then we must also clear away from our minds all traces of *the Crusaders*. I suspect that few will have realized before going to Palestine how numerous and important these traces are. The Crusaders planted down their castles on every point of vantage, much as we may

see them on the marches of Wales or Scotland. On the way up from Jaffa to Jerusalem we passed the great fortress of Mont Gisart = Gezer (*Tell Jezer*), which is now being excavated for the Palestine Exploration Fund. A little further south, commanding the mouth of the next main approach, was another great fortress, Blanchegarde (*Tell eṣ-Ṣâfiyeh*). On the way down to Jericho we had full in view a Crusaders' fort on a height commanding the pass. As one goes north from Jerusalem to Nâblus and Nazareth, one passes a *Ḳasr Berdawil* (Baldwin's Castle), and there is another of the same name east of the Sea of Galilee. A little further there were considerable ruins at Sin-jil (= Saint Giles). We left to the right the strong castle of Belvoir near Bethshan, and so on. The Crusaders had a succession of strongholds along the coast. And they built as many churches as castles, and not only in the cities but in comparatively remote villages.

The kingdom of Jerusalem lasted less than ninety years (1099–1187) and the last Crusader was expelled in 1291. But in that short space of time it is astonishing how they have written their names in stone all over Palestine.

Next, we must *raise the Jew*, as we see him, to a higher power. For this purpose we must utilize our experience of the Jew at his best and under more favourable conditions. Physically, and in force at least of character, as well as in capacity for spiritual things, we shall not do wrong to rate the Jews of our Lord's day high in the scale. It is just a case where *corruptio optimi pessima*: and we must be prepared for both extremes.

We must allow for a difference between Galilee and Jerusalem. In Jerusalem we must think of the kernel of the population as consisting of pure Jews with the national characteristics strongly marked. In the time of the early Maccabees, the Jews of Galilee were a mere Diaspora settled among the heathen; so much so that Simon had thought that he consulted best for their safety by removing them with their wives and children bodily to Judaea (1 Macc. v. 23), as Judas also did with the Jews of Gilead (ibid. 45). The more thorough judaizing of this region seems to have been begun under Hyrcanus, and to have been carried on under Aristobulus I (105–104 B.C.). It proved very successful and thorough. All through the great rising of A.D. 66 the population of Galilee for the most part moved together, and on the same lines as Judaea and the capital. Such exceptions as Sepphoris and Tiberias hardly meant more than a local preponderance of the party friendly to Rome. In the rest of Galilee the less pure Jews and the more pure made common cause.

The strict Jew held aloof from intercourse with the foreigner. But in this respect there would be all shades, and the thriving commercial life of Galilee weakened the opposition, and gave a wider and more generous outlook. The ruling powers, as might have been expected, and especially the Herods, were in much closer sympathy with the current Graeco-Roman civilization; and they indulged this sympathy as far as they dared, i. e. more freely in proportion to the distance from Jerusalem.

It is on the side of this Graeco-Roman civilization that we have to make the greatest *addition* to what

we can now see in Palestine, and in regard to which we have to make the greatest effort to restore to the picture an element that is now wanting. To the eye at least this quasi-classical culture derived from Greece and Rome counted for much more than it really did in the deeper springs of the national life. Palestine had not developed any art or architecture of its own. Whoever desired to build at all on a large scale had no choice but to follow Graeco-Roman models. And the Herods were at once the great builders and the most pronounced in their leanings towards Hellenism. Hence all the great buildings of the time before or soon after the birth of Christ were in their style and essence Graeco-Roman. The Herodian Temple itself was this; much more the Xystus, a large public colonnade connected with the gymnasium, and the great fortified palace which Herod had built for himself on the opposite hill. No matter to what part of Palestine one went, to east or to west, to centre or north—to Jericho or to the port of Caesarea, to Samaria or to Tiberias, or to Caesarea Philippi—wherever there was anything new and splendid, it took this quasi-classical form.

If we look for specimens of the style in vogue at the time among extant monuments, we shall find them best among the tombs—that conspicuous group in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the so-called Tombs of Absalom, of St. James and Zacharias, and the so-called Tombs of the Kings and of the Judges[1].

[1] To these may be added the remains, somewhat later, of what are commonly thought to be synagogues in Galilee. I see that in a work that has just appeared (Christmas, 1902), Dr. Bürkner, an eminent German architectural writer, throws doubt on these synagogues (*Gesch. d. kirchl. Kunst*, p. 7), but I think that they may be

If we wish to know what the details of style were like in Herod's Temple itself the series of tombs may suggest them. It may be taken as proved or at least highly probable that the remarkable structure known as the Tombs of the Kings is really the tomb of Helena of Adiabene, with her son Izates and his prolific family, eminent converts to Judaism between the time of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem. And this fixed date gives us a key to that of the rest. In other words, it supplies us with evidence enough to go upon as to the style of the Herodian building; and this is just what we should have antecedently expected. It is the one criticism that I could not help making upon Dr. Schick's famous model of Herod's Temple, that the style is not sufficiently classical, but is too much a rather colourless invention of his own. Perhaps this is partly due to the exigencies of the model; and to the necessity of having recourse to invention in the case of the Temple of Solomon. I would venture to think that even Perrot and Chipiez, in their reproduction of the Solomonic and post-exilian Temple, have not trusted enough to analogies, and have given rather too free rein to their own fancy.

Two factors between them must, I imagine, account for nearly all the external and material expression of the arts of life in the Palestine of the first century: on the one hand, the common Semitic characteristics of domestic furniture and dress, with slight local modification; and, on the other hand, for anything more ambitious than this, forms borrowed ultimately from Greece

defended. At least I believe that they are probably synagogues, though not so early as the time of our Lord.

and Italy; so that after all, though we have no Palestinian Pompeii, we may use Pompeii to some extent in reconstructing our picture of Palestine. A Semitic people with an external wash of Graeco-Roman or Hellenistic culture is what we must think of.

Remove the Saracen; multiply in number and heighten in colouring the Jew; and substitute for all the varied modern invasions the one invasion of this Graeco-Roman culture; and we shall be not far from that of which we are in search.

As to the general aspect of the country, we must think of it as far more populous and flourishing than it is at the present day[1]. The population is roughly estimated at about four times its present amount (2½ millions as against 650,000). The cities were larger and full of new and imposing buildings. The ports of Caesarea and Ptolemais were good for their day, and rapidly expanding, and crowded with traffic. In the country districts, the villages in like manner were on a larger scale. In his exaggerated way Josephus says that none of the villages of Galilee had less than 15,000 inhabitants. They are spoken of almost indifferently as 'villages' (κῶμαι) and towns or πόλεις. The hillsides were lined with terraces more numerous and in better repair. The fertile plains along the coast or interspersed among the hills of Samaria and Galilee were more completely cultivated. The irrigation, which is still in some parts very good, was more widely extended. Though the west of Jordan

[1] Tacitus, after his manner, hits off the leading characteristics of the country in few strokes: 'Corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum. Rari imbres, uber solum: fruges nostrum ad morem praeterque eas balsamum et palmae' (*Hist.* v. 6. 2).

was never thickly timbered, there were probably many more trees growing in the open, and especially many more fruit-trees than there are at present. The discontent that existed then, as it exists now, was due to moral causes and not to material pressure. The aspect of the land must indeed have been bright and smiling; and if there were volcanic fires beneath the surface, they were not the product of despair, but rather of irrepressible hope and energy. The more fervid spirits lived in a future which imagination painted for them crudely but vividly; and this future seemed so near that it constantly beckoned to them to enter in and possess it, while they on their part had no lack of courage to grasp what was offered them. At this time the youth of the nation were like hounds straining at the leash, which the cooler and wiser heads were doing all in their power to control; for the time they were succeeding, but it was felt that the tension could not last much longer.

The Jews of the present day are sustained by a more subdued and distant enthusiasm. Of the other inhabitants the middle-class Syrians have enterprise and aspirations, but these are rather individual than national. The Mahometan peasantry seem for the most part resigned, and will accept what fate has in store for them; but what this is to be will be determined elsewhere than in Palestine. Happily England has no ambitions of her own to serve: her interest is in the welfare of the people for their own sake. But it is very doubtful whether she can play more than the part of a sympathetic spectator.

NOTES ON PLATES I—XXII

THE plates are intended to illustrate the main points in the text. Most of them will explain themselves; but a few may need some further words of comment.

Plate I. The minaret in the centre of the picture is in the south-west corner of the modern barracks which are on the site of the great Palace of Herod (comp. Pl. XXXVII). A little to the left of this are the two towers of the Jaffa Gate, of which that to the right may be identified with the ancient Hippicus (Pl. XXXVIII). All the buildings to the left of this are modern. The group that stands out rather conspicuously on the horizon is the Latin Patriarchate. All this should of course be ignored by any one who wishes to reconstruct for himself the ancient Jerusalem. Of this the tower Hippicus formed the north-west angle. It should be remembered, by way of compensation, that the ancient city stretched some way further to the south. The wall continued along the ridge beyond the point that we have marked as the south-west angle.

Plate II. The Damascus Gate in its present form really dates from Soliman the Magnificent (1537 A.D.), but thoroughly retains the Saracenic character.

Plate IV. This view of the Dome of the Rock is taken from the south. The spectator has his back to the Mosque *el-Aḳṣā*. During the possession of Jerusalem by the Crusaders (1099–1187) a cross took the place of the crescent at the top of the Dome.

Plate V. The decoration of the exterior of the Dome (the encaustic tiles and stained glass) dates generally from the sixteenth century.

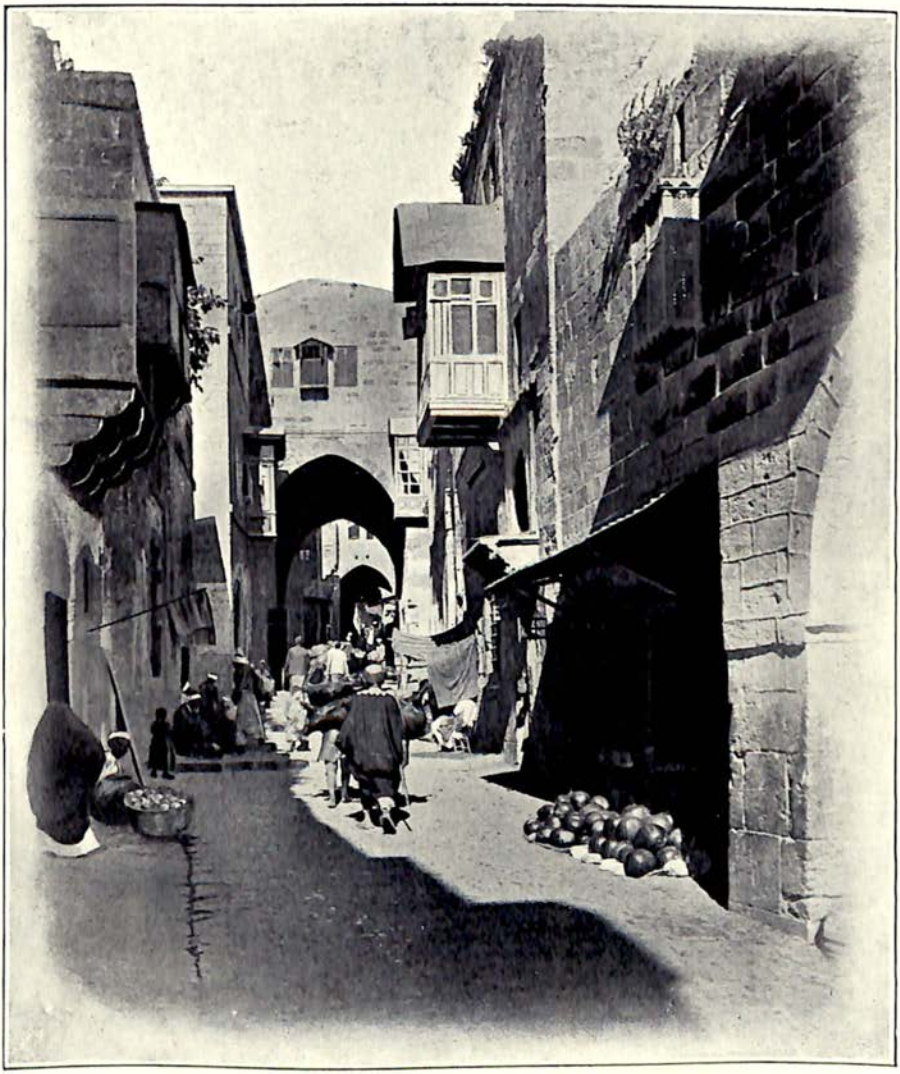
Plate VI. It is unfortunate that no satisfactory photographic reproduction can be given of the interior of the Dome, which is the most characteristic feature. The view represented is of the ambulatory which surrounds the sacred rock. The pillars and capitals probably came from Christian churches. The marble casing that we now see is, I believe, of the sixteenth century.

PLATE I.

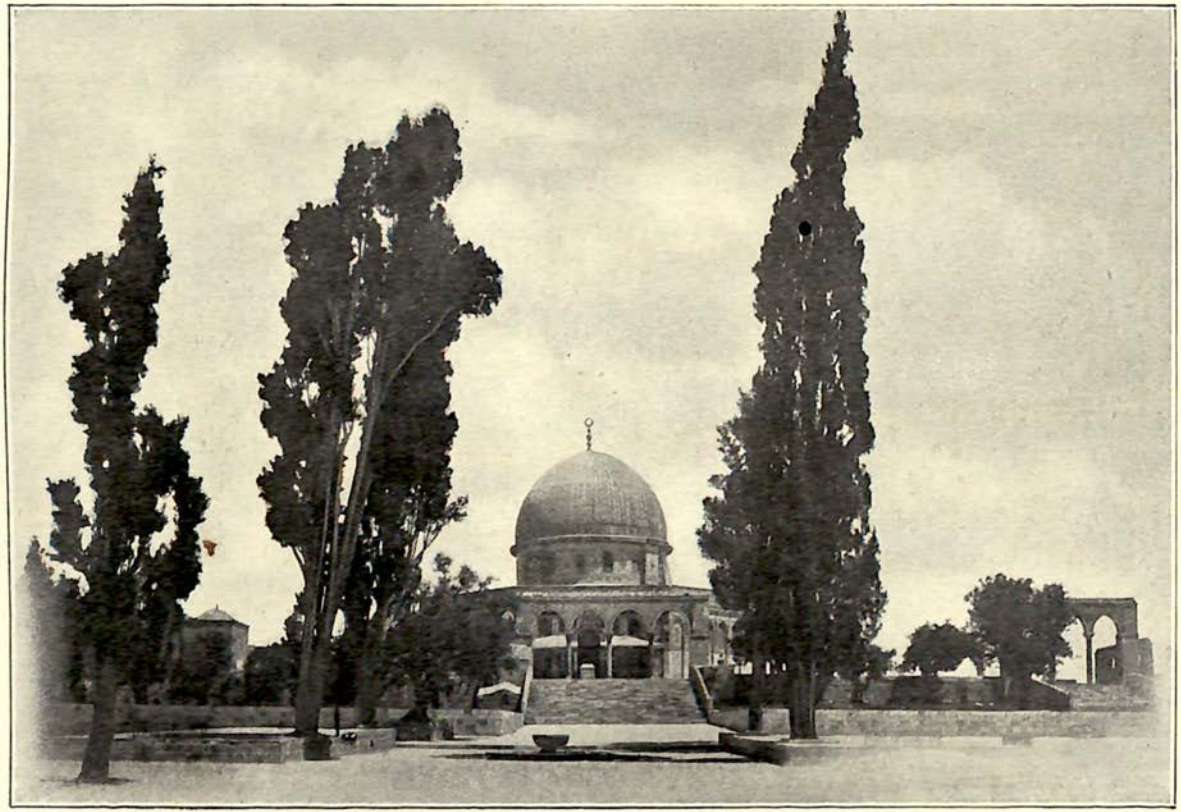
APPROACH TO JERUSALEM (FROM S.W.).

SARACENIC JERUSALEM: DAMASCUS GATE.

PLATE III.



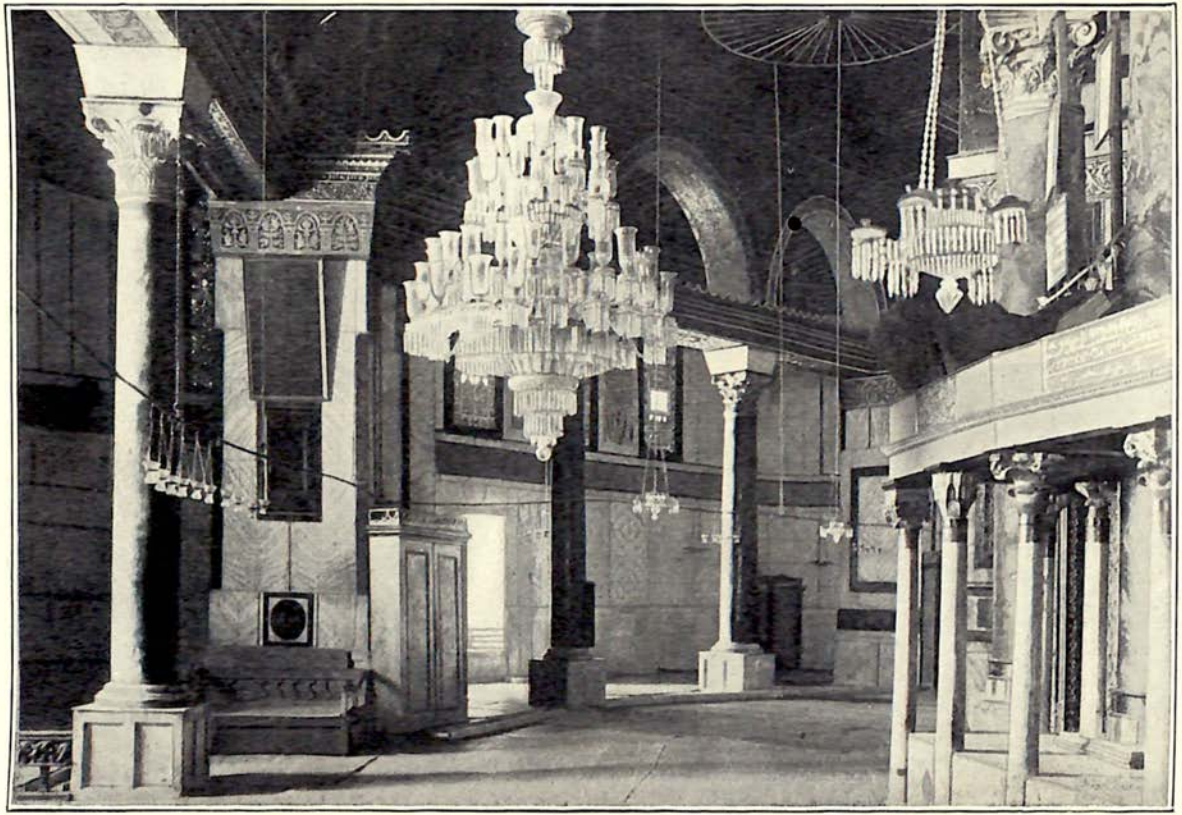
SARACENIC JERUSALEM: STREET SCENE.



SARACENIC JERUSALEM: DOME OF THE ROCK (GENERAL VIEW).

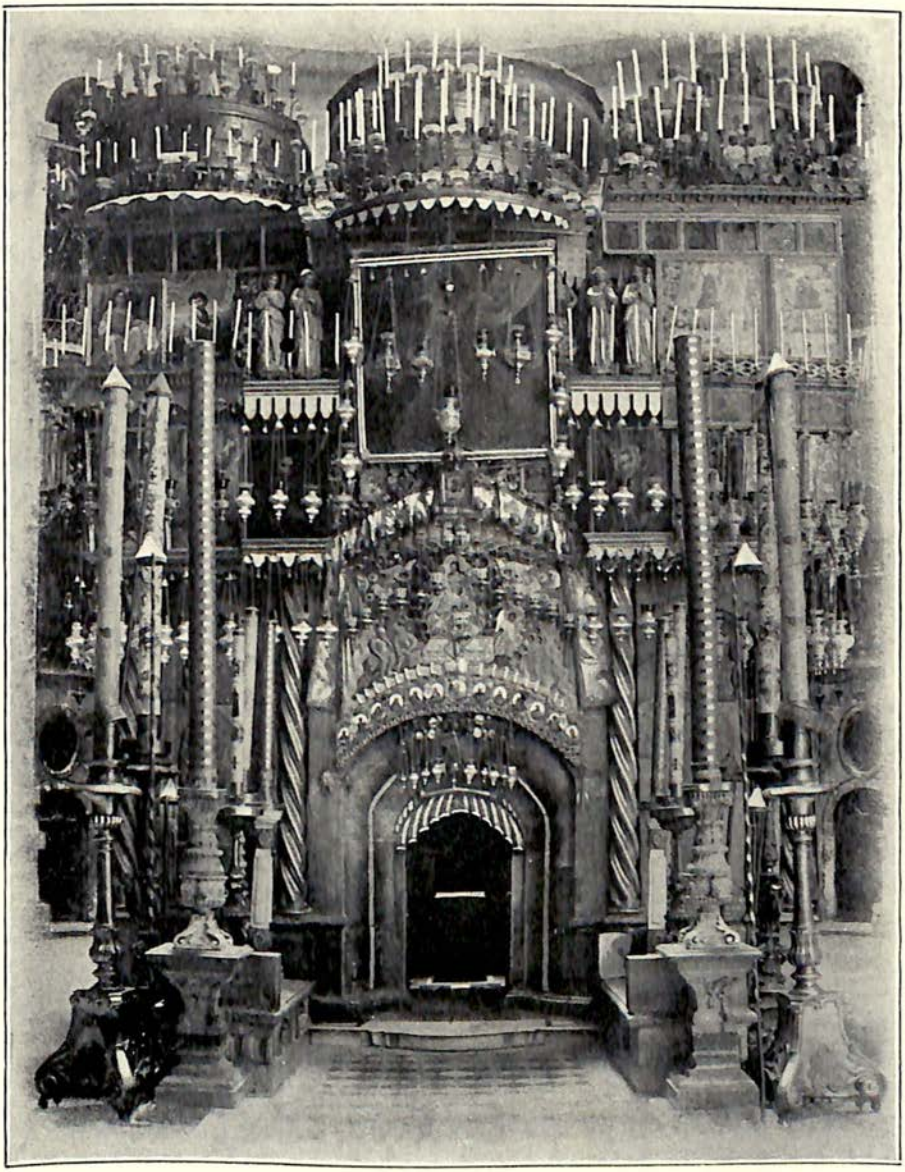
PLATE V.

SARACENIC JERUSALEM: DOME OF THE ROCK (EXTERIOR).

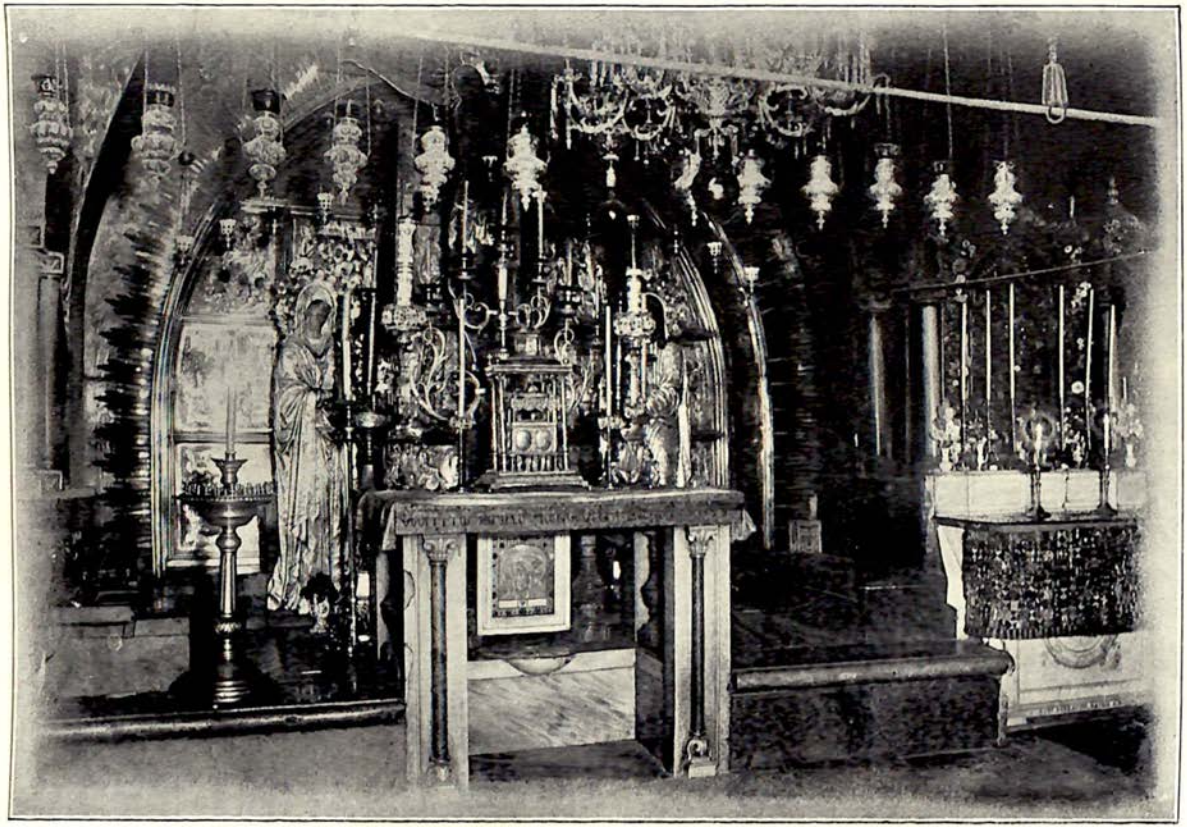


SARACENIC JERUSALEM: DOME OF THE ROCK (INTERIOR).

PLATE VII.

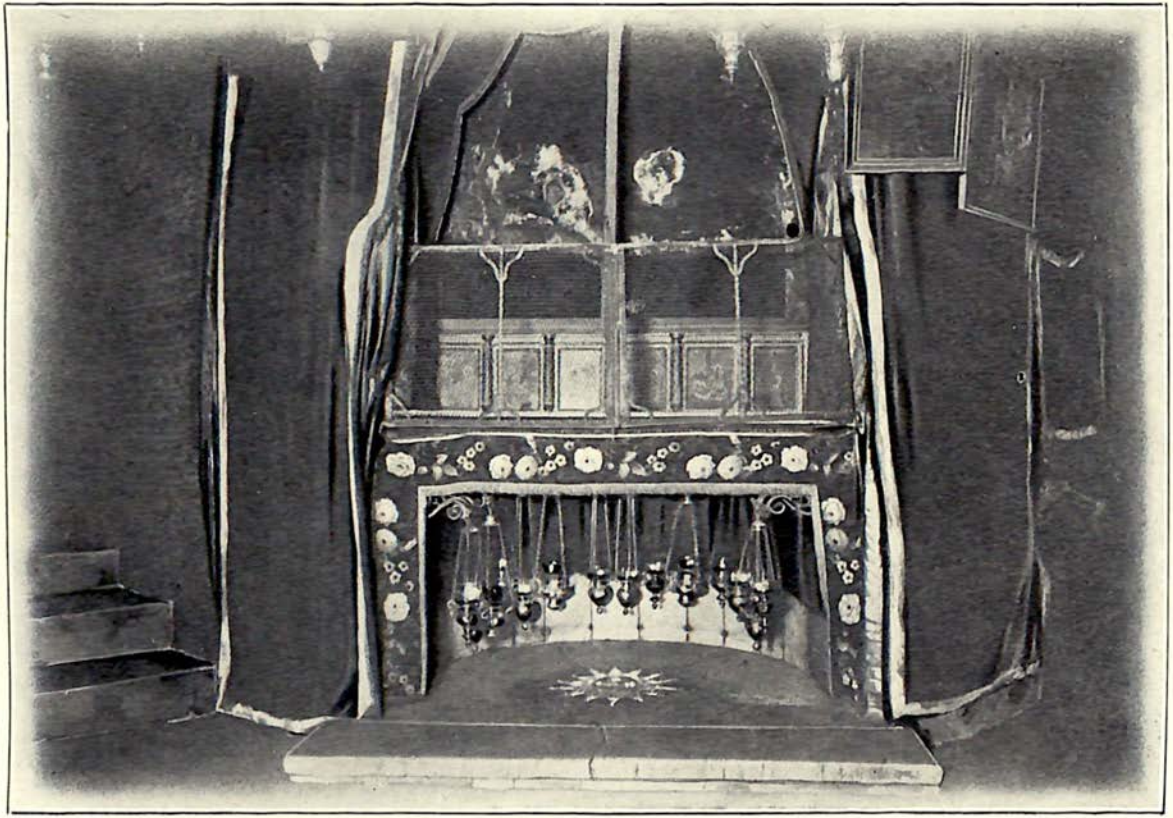


THE HOLY PLACES : CHAPEL OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.



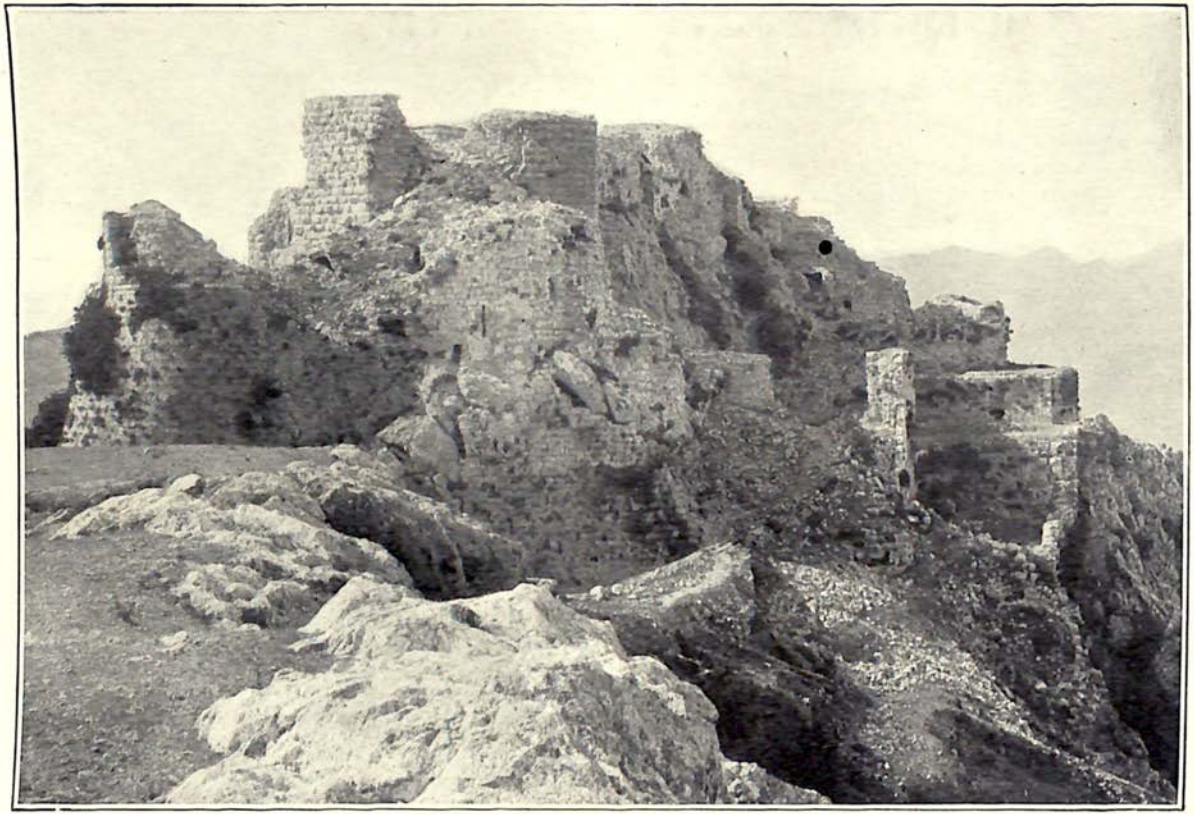
THE HOLY PLACES: GOLGOTHA.

PLATE IX.



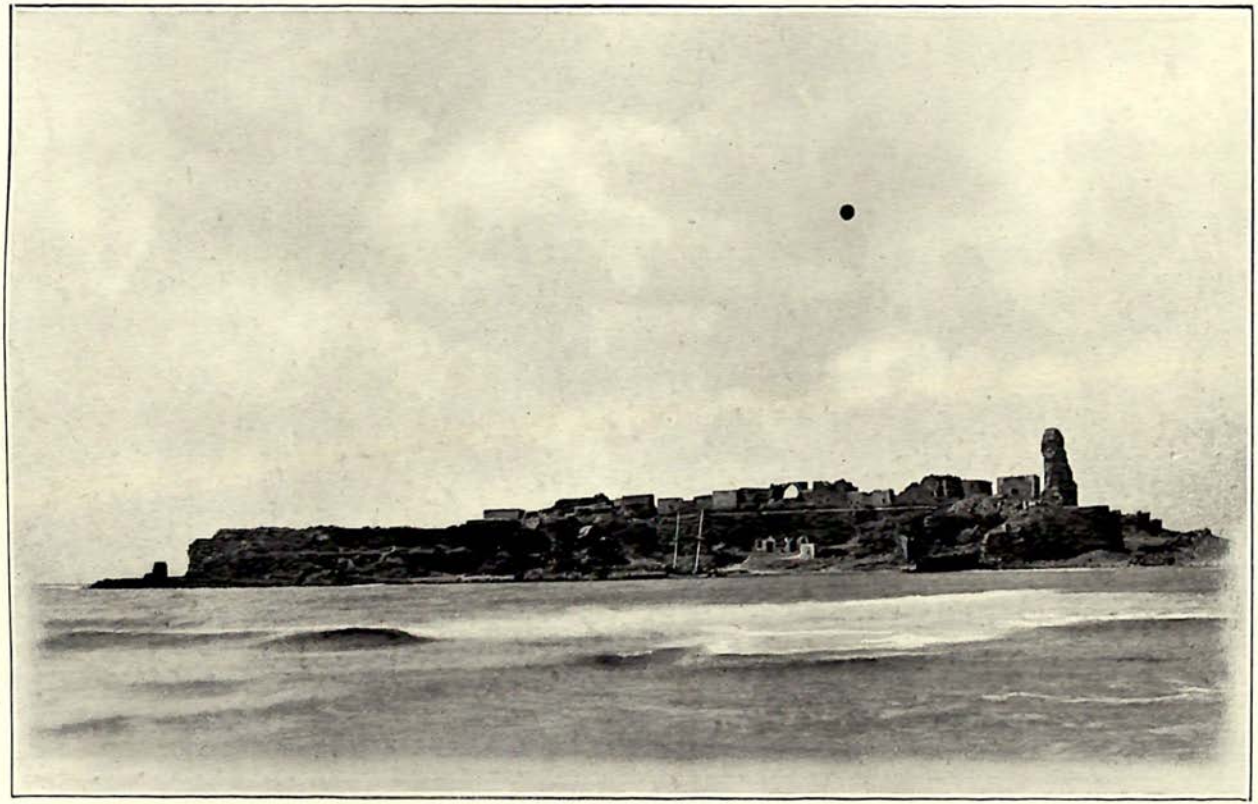
THE HOLY PLACES: CAVE OF THE NATIVITY.

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY. (EARLY CHRISTIAN WORK. CONSTANTINE'S BASILICA AT BETHLEHEM.)



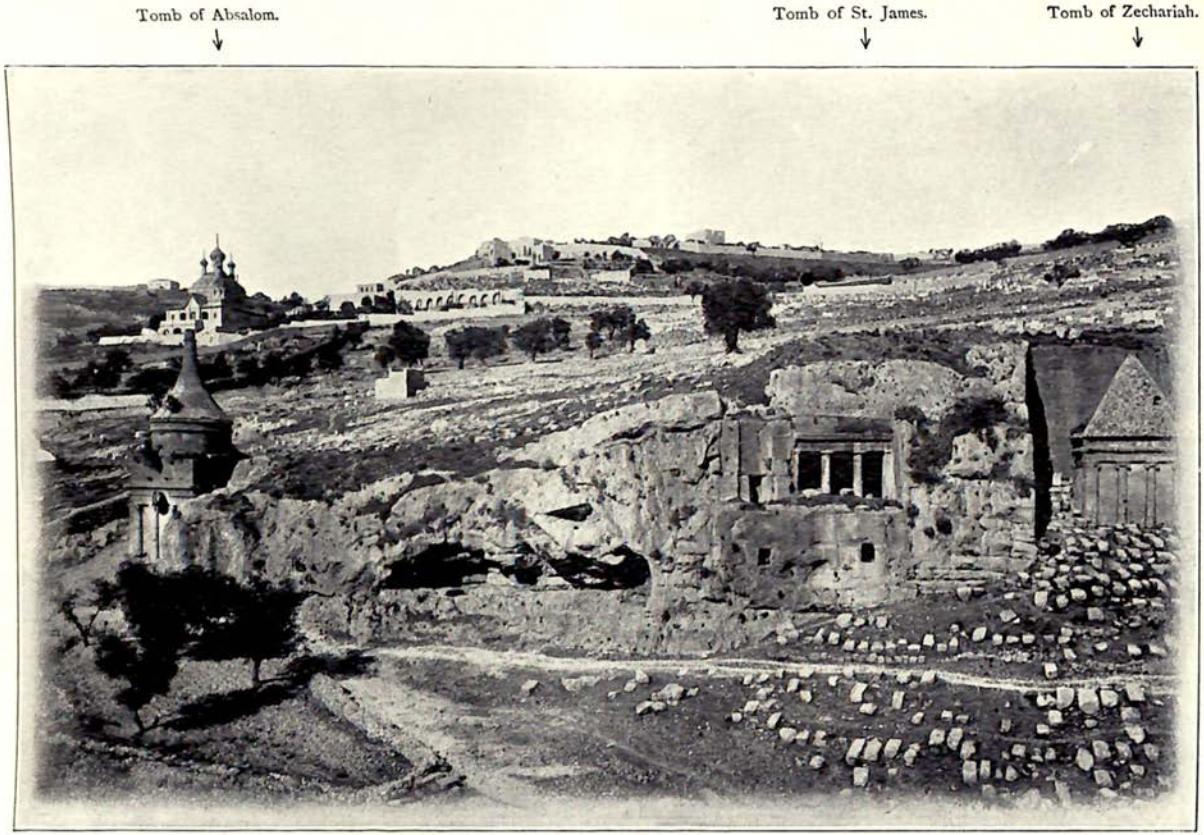
CRUSADING CASTLES: BELFORT (*Ḳal'at esh-Shaḳif*).

CRUSADING CASTLES: CASTLE OF BÂNIYÂS.



CRUSADING CASTLES: CASTELLUM PEREGRINORUM (*'Athlît*).

PLATE XIV.



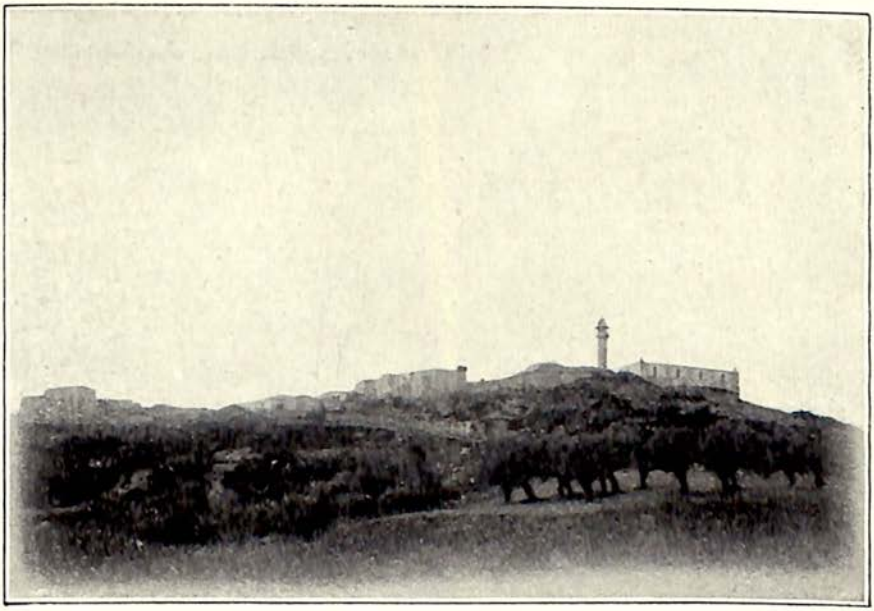
HERODIAN AND ROMAN JERUSALEM: SO-CALLED TOMBS OF ABSALOM, ST. JAMES, AND ZECHARIAH.

PLATE XV.

St. George's Cathedral (English).

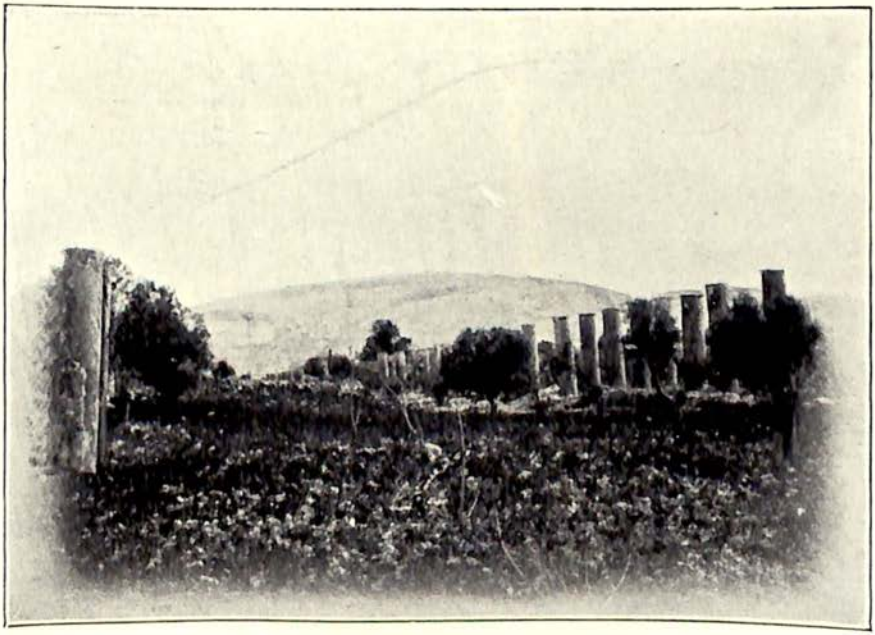
HERODIAN AND ROMAN JERUSALEM: TOMB OF HELENA OF ADIABENE, 41–54 A.D.
(SO-CALLED TOMBS OF THE KINGS).

PLATE XVI A.



HERODIAN PALESTINE : SITE OF SAMARIA (*Sebaste*).

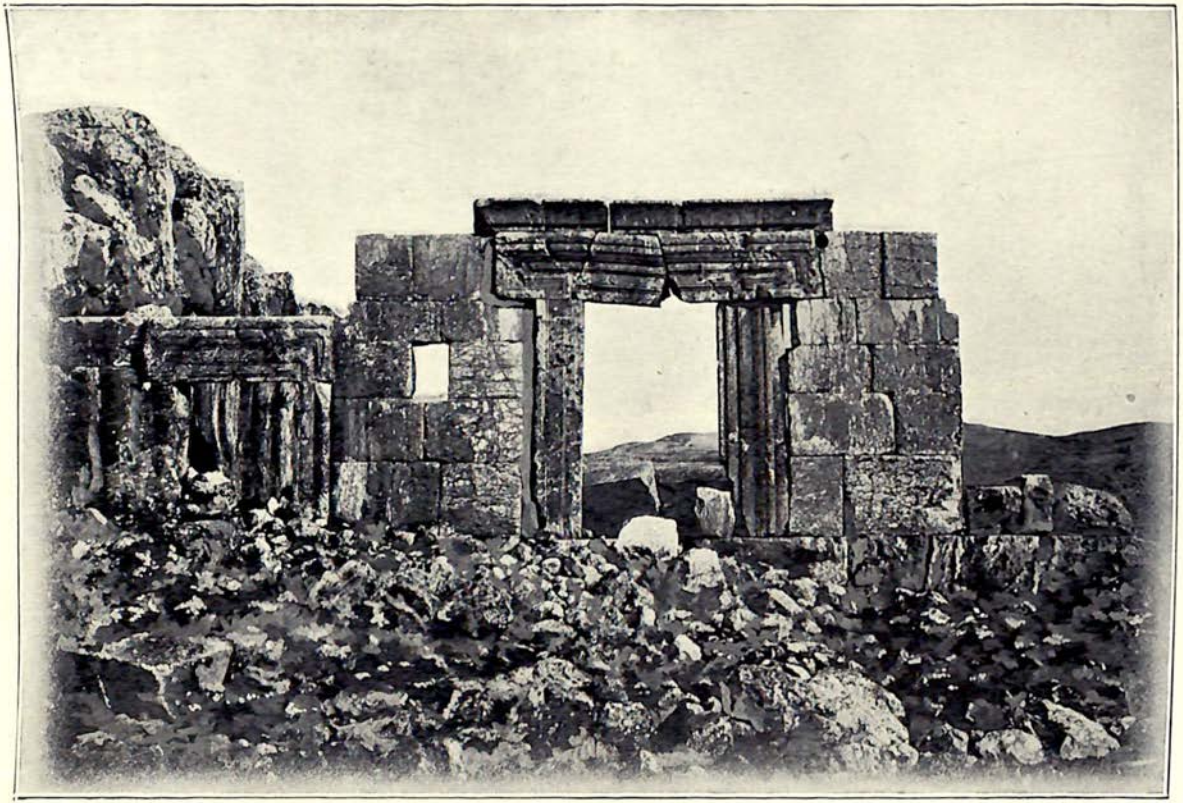
PLATE XVI B.



SAMARIA : STREET OF COLUMNS.

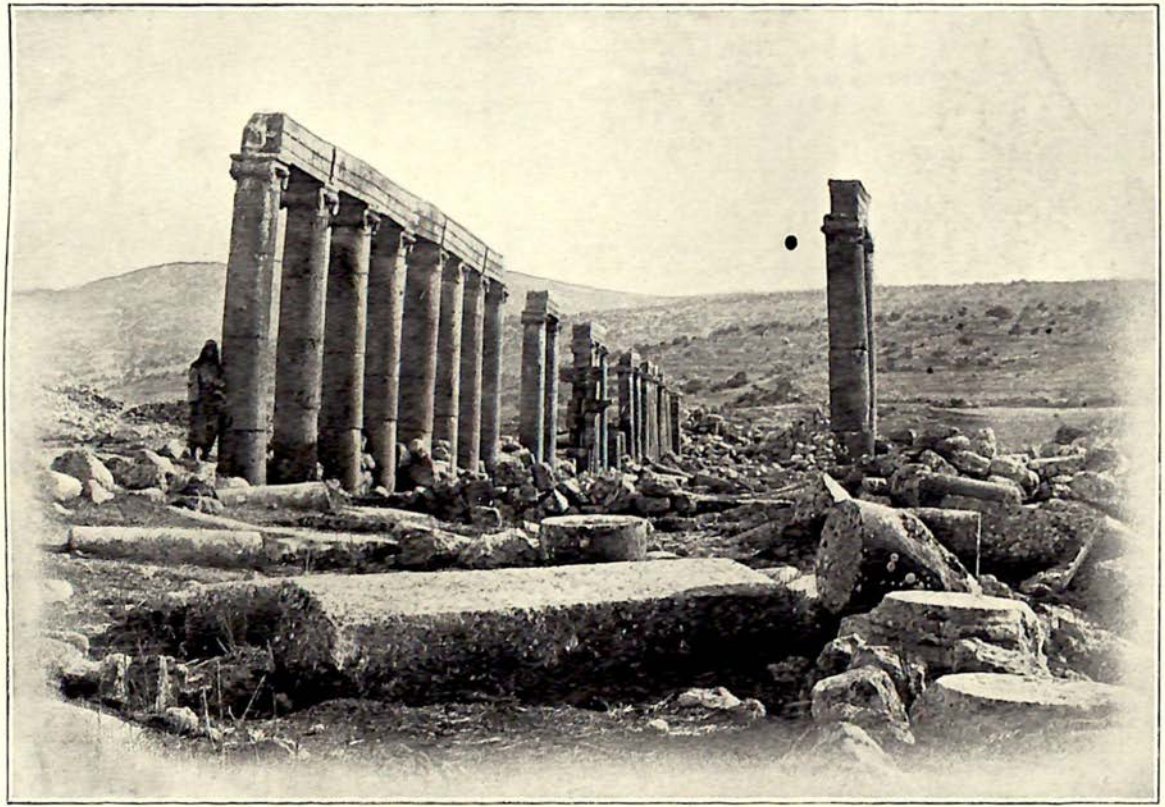
ROMAN PALESTINE: TELL ḤÛM (SUPPOSED RUINS OF SYNAGOGUE).

ROMAN PALESTINE: *Kefr Bir'im* (SUPPOSED RUINS OF SYNAGOGUE).



ROMAN PALESTINE: *Mêrôn* (SUPPOSED RUINS OF SYNAGOGUE).

ROMAN PALESTINE: MOLE OF CAESAREA.



ROMAN PALESTINE: RUINS OF GERASA (DECAPOLIS).

FORD OF JORDAN (NEAR JERICHO).

Plate VIII. Between the Greek Chapel of the Exaltation of the Cross and the Latin Chapel of the Crucifixion is the traditional Cleft in the Rock. The floor of these chapels is about 15 ft. above the main floor of the church.

Plate IX. The silver star under the altar bears the inscription 'Hic de Virgine Maria Iesus Christus natus est.'

Plate X. There is fair reason to believe that the pillars and capitals shown in this plate are really Constantine's work. If not, they are of the time of Justinian.

Plates XVI A and B. The site of Samaria was really still more imposing than would appear from the photograph. It was an isolated hill, of which the highest point lies behind and considerably above the minaret of the mosque, which has been formed out of a Crusaders' church. The 'Street of Columns' ran round the hill and was built by Herod the Great. Unfortunately, in the short time at our disposal we did not succeed in finding a capital; but they were probably like those at Gerasa (Pl. XXI).

Plate XXI. There is a very full article on Gerasa, abundantly illustrated with plans and photographs, by Herr Schumacher in *ZDPV.* xxv (1902), pp. 109–177.

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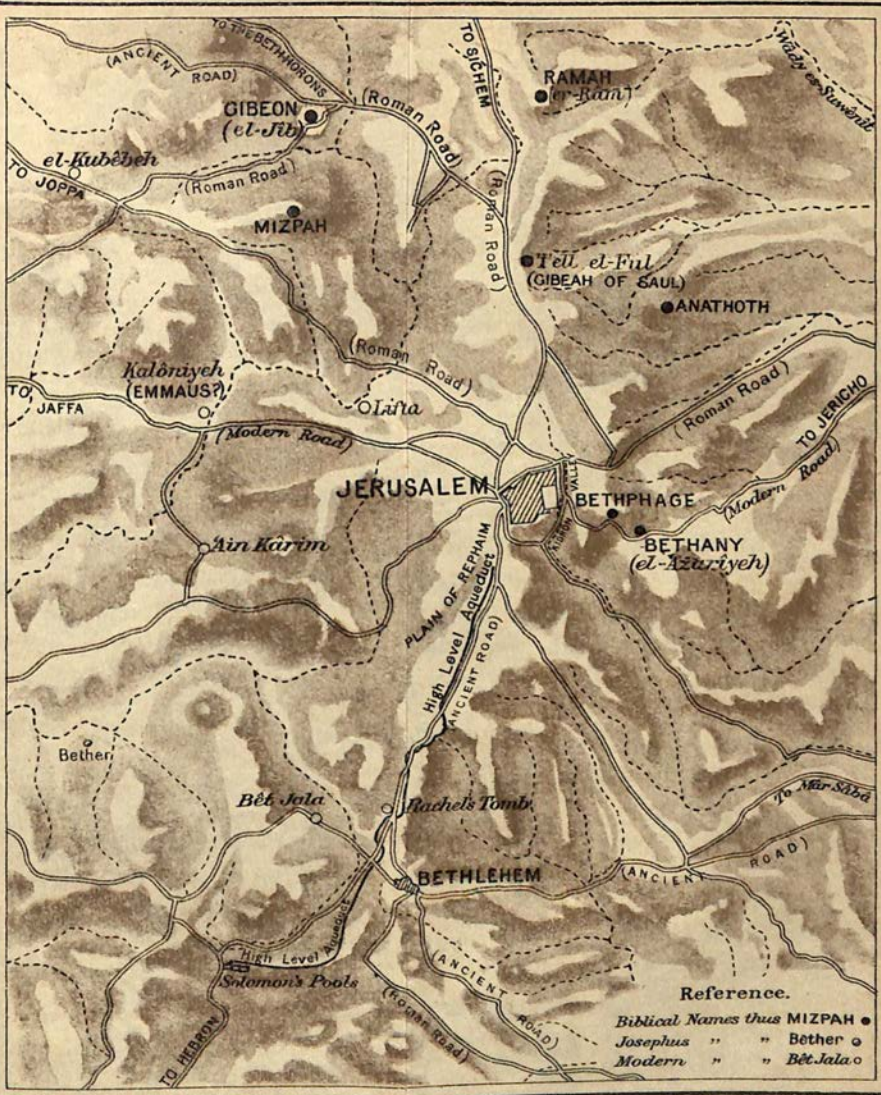
II

SITES OUTSIDE JERUSALEM

PALESTINE is a land of ruins: and it might also be described as a land of legends. The legends, as well Mahometan as Christian, are just what the tourist is told most assiduously. They are expected to interest him, and the supposed demand creates the supply. In the process of manufacture the smallest items of the sacred history acquire a local habitation. We are shown the site of the house of the Holy Family at Nazareth, which was carried away in the night first to Dalmatia and then to its present resting-place at Loreto; and we are not only shown this, but also the very spot where the Angel Gabriel stood at the Annunciation. At Jericho we are taken to the house of Zacchaeus. At Bethany we have pointed out, not only the house of Mary and Martha, but also a separate house as that of Simon the Leper; and we are told where the sisters went to meet our Lord on His approach. It is well known how in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre every detail in the history of the Passion has a definite place assigned to it.

The process is easy. Any prominent object that catches the eye and that might conceivably suit the narrative is at once transferred from the region of *posse* to that of *esse*. The first time it is, 'Perhaps or probably this was the scene,' &c. The next time 'perhaps' or 'probably' has dropped out, and an opinion soon hardens into a tradition.

ENVIRONS OF JERUSALEM



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SCALE OF MILES

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The Oxford Geographical Institute.

The tendency is so deep-rooted in human nature that we find it as actively at work in the fourth century as it is now. The pilgrim commonly known as Silvia of Aquitaine, who visited the Holy Land and the East about the year 385, not only had the scenes of the Old Testament history pointed out to her as confidently as those of the New, but she visits Edessa and there too is shown and accepts quite as implicitly all the mythical scenes of the Letter to Abgarus. Even before Silvia, the Bordeaux pilgrim of the year 333 was told details equally minute and equally apocryphal.

I do not know that we need be too severe on the thousands of simple-minded pilgrims who now and in the past have taken all the stories told them for gospel. Their devotion is touching; and we cannot perhaps wholly enter into the state of mind by which it is accompanied. After all, they do but use these external helps as symbols to bring home to their minds something spiritual and intangible. Our symbols may be a little more adequate, but they too are really only approximate, and the use to which we put them is the same.

It would be a mistake if, as some are inclined to do, we were at once to jump to the conclusion that because there is a great deal of legend abroad, therefore nothing was trustworthy and nothing could be verified accurately enough to deserve attention. The historian is not like the philosopher. He does not demand certainties or great comprehensive truths. For him, as for Bishop Butler, 'probability is the very guide of life'; and he is content with a low degree of probability where he cannot have a high one.

A fair proportion of the Gospel sites can be identified

quite satisfactorily; and in regard to others, the alternatives lie within measurable compass. I doubt if there are more than two where evidence altogether fails us: and of those two it is possible that one may dissolve away upon examination.

This is Dalmanutha in St. Mark viii. 10: 'And straightway He entered into the boat with His disciples, and came into the parts of Dalmanutha.' Now there is a sort of combe hollowed out in the hillside about midway, or a little more than midway, between Tiberias and Magdala on the west of the Sea of Galilee; and at the foot of this combe there are springs which are called in Baedeker *'Ain el-Bârideh* (in the Exploration Fund map *'Ain el-Fuliyeh*). Dr. Tristram suggested that this was the site of Dalmanutha[1], and the dragomans go so far as to speak of the valley as Wâdy Dalmanutha. But except that the situation roughly corresponds to what is wanted, there is no other evidence.

The parallel passage in St. Matt. xv. 39 has (in the true text) 'Magadan,' which appears to be a variant of Magdala[2]. Critically Dalmanutha is preferable, as it stands in the older authority (St. Mark). But why it should have been altered to Magadan is rather a problem. Rendel Harris and Nestle proposed, independently of each other, to take Dalmanutha as a misreading of the Aramaic equivalent of εἰς τὰ μέρη. This, perhaps, is not probable[3]; and though more may be said for regarding Dalmanutha as a corruption of

[1] *The Land of Israel*, p. 425.

[2] Cf. the MSS. of the LXX of Josh. xv. 37, as quoted in Dr. Swete's note on Mark viii. 10.

[3] See Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 53.

Magdalutha, that also cannot be verified. We must, however, leave open the possibility of some deep-seated corruption.

The other site, for which there are no direct data, is Bethany beyond Jordan, the true reading of St. John i. 28. The authorities for the reading 'Bethany' are overwhelming. They include not only the oldest MSS. (D is not extant at this point) but also the great majority of the versions, among them the Latin. The only first-rate witness on the other side is the Old Syriac (both Curetonian and Sinaitic), which is, however, on account of this reading and one or two others, open to the suspicion of having come under the influence of Origen. For while Origen tells us expressly that 'Bethany beyond Jordan' was read in 'nearly all the copies' of his day, he himself was not able to find a place of that name on the Jordan, and advised the substitution of Bethabara—whether with or without MS. authority does not quite appear.

Bethabara has, I think, been satisfactorily identified by Col. Conder with a ford *'Abâra* on the Jordan, slightly to the NE. of *Beisân* (Scythopolis). And Origen would seem to have had some ground in tradition for regarding it as a place where John had baptized. It is possible—we cannot say more—that Bethany may have been not far away (see further on Aenon and Salim below, also p. 94).

The means by which we are enabled to identify sites are two: partly through the persistence of ancient names, and partly by direct tradition.

I shall proceed to give illustrations of each of these methods. And in doing so it will be convenient to take first the sites mentioned in the Gospels outside

Jerusalem, and then those in Jerusalem. It happens accidentally that identification by survival of names is more largely illustrated in the former, and identification by tradition in the latter.

In many cases the process is quite simple. The modern *en-Nâṣira* is certainly Nazareth; the modern *Bêt Laḥm* as certainly Bethlehem; Cana is either *Kefr Kenna* or *Ḳânet el-Jelîl*[1]; the village of Nain is still *Nain* and Magdala *Mejdel*[2]; Chorazin is still *Kerâzeh*; Bethany is not much disguised under the name *el-'Azariyeh*.

Just a word should be said about some of these names.

There is no real doubt about Chorazin, though the identification was questioned by Dr. Edward Robinson, the American traveller, to whom the topography of Palestine owes so much that he might still be called its leading master. He does not seem to have seen the whole of the ruins; and he did not go up to or examine them. They lie at about an hour's distance from *Tell Ḥûm* and nearly due north, partly in the hollow formed by a stream and partly above it. The place appears to have been of some importance.

The village of Nain is a conspicuous object on the northern slope of *Nebi Ḍahî* (Little Hermon), the great eastern buttress of the plain of Esdraelon, and a striking feature in the landscape. A white Franciscan church gleams in the distance.

'To the east of Nain, by the roadside, about ten

[1] I believe that the most probable site of all is neither of these, but *'Ain Ḳânâ*, rather nearer to Nazareth than *Kefr Kenna*. Dr. Guthe appears to lean to this; but the arguments in the case are philological, and do not come within my province.

[2] Dr. Cheyne questions this (art. 'Galilee' in *Encycl. Bibl.* ii. 1635).

minutes' walk from the village, lies the ancient burying-ground, still used by the Moslems; and probably on this very path our Lord met that sorrowing procession. A few oblong piles of stones, and one or two small built graves with whitened plaster, are all that mark the unfenced spot[1].'

There are two Bethlehems, the second in Galilee about seven miles west of Nazareth; and it has recently been suggested (in the new volume of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*) that this Galilean Bethlehem may be the true scene of the Nativity. There would be real advantages if Bethlehem could be thought of as near to Nazareth. But to obtain this result we have to go entirely behind our Gospels. Both St. Matthew and St. Luke are express in placing the birth of Christ at Bethlehem *of Judaea*. And as their narratives are wholly independent of each other and differ in most other respects, it is clear that we have on this point a convergence of two distinct traditions.

A good instance of the preservation of an ancient name is supplied by the scene of the miracle of what is commonly called the Gadarene demoniac.

As one looks across the lake from Tiberias, the eastern side appears to be formed by a single mountain wall averaging some 1,500 feet in height, with a few clefts in it, where ravines come down to the sea. Of these ravines the most considerable is the Wâdy Semak, a little north of midway up the side. At the mouth of this ravine I had pointed out to me a tiny patch darker in colour than its surroundings. These are the ruins of *Khersa* or *Kersa*. I have practically no doubt that these

[1] Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 127†.

ruins mark the place which gave its name to the miracle; and that in spite of Baedeker, who speaks with some reserve of 'an attempt . . . to identify Kersa with *Gergesa* (Matt. viii. 28), although Mark v. 1 and other passages read *Gadara*.' Baedeker is an excellent book; but in this instance the editor (the late Prof. A. Socin of Leipzig) has omitted to call in either the Higher Criticism or the Lower, which happen to be here of much importance.

The Higher Criticism tells us that we must take as our starting-point the Gospel of St. Mark. The Lower Criticism determines for us the text both of that and of its two companion Gospels.

The true text of Mark v. 1 is quite certainly not 'Gadarenes' but 'Gerasenes.' Critics of both the leading schools must agree in this: because the reading 'Gerasenes' has in its favour not only the oldest and best Greek MSS. but also the Western text as represented by the Latin versions.

In Matt. viii. 28 the best-attested Greek reading is 'Gadarenes,' and the Western reading 'Gerasenes,' which however is open to the suspicion of being assimilated to St. Mark. In Luke viii. 26, 37 the best reading also seems to be 'Gerasenes,' though a group of MSS. of some importance has 'Gergesenes.' This probably betrays the influence of Origen. We cannot doubt that the oldest reading is 'Gerasenes,' on which 'Gadarenes' is a later gloss. 'Gerasenes' and 'Gergesenes' alike are attempts to represent the adjective of the local name which survives under the form *Kersa*.

The textual and the topographical problem are thus, I cannot but think, satisfactorily cleared up. A genera-

tion ago both were very doubtful. If we look (e. g.) at Alford's note, he is unable to solve either. In St. Mark he reads 'Gergesenes,' which is certainly wrong; he follows Matthew (when he should follow Mark), and treats the original reading as 'Gadarenes'; and he does not know whether or not there was any place corresponding to Gerasa or Gergesa on the lake at all. The doubt on that head is now set at rest.

The travellers' descriptions are agreed that only the neighbourhood of *Kersa* satisfies the conditions of the miracle. Not only are there tombs near at hand, but here alone is there a cliff that falls sheer almost into the lake. Elsewhere there is a strip of some breadth between the cliffs and the sea[1].

It is worth while to remember this convergence of data, textual, topographical and historical, taken separately and weighed with the strictest objectivity, when we come to consider the character of the narrative and of the miracle which it contains.

There remains just one question. How is it, we may ask, that the Decapolitan city Gerasa is now represented by *Jerash*, while Gerasa or Gergesa on the Sea of Galilee is represented by *Kersa* or *Kursi*?

The first point is to be sure as to the form of the name. On this our authorities are explicit. Dr. Thomson, who first rediscovered the place, writes thus:—

'The name of this prostrate town is *Kerza* (*sic*) or *Gersa* as my Bedawîn guide shouted it in my ear the first time I visited it, on that windy day we have been describing.'

[1] Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (ed. 1901), p. 377; Schumacher, *Jaulân*, p. 180; Buhl, *Geog. d. alten Palästina*, p. 243. [See however p. 93 below.]

And again:—

'The name, however, pronounced by Bedawîn Arabs, is so similar to Gergesa, that to all my inquiries for this place, they invariably said it was at *Chersa* (*sic*); and they insisted that they were identical, and I agree with them in this opinion.'

And Herr Schumacher:—

'According to the statements of the Bedawîn, it [i. e. a round tower built above the ruin] bears the name *Kersa*, or *Kursu* (*sic*), because it is not unlike a stool, whilst the already-mentioned walls on the lake are called *es-Sûr*. Nevertheless, what is usually understood by Kersa is the ruin generally.'

There is an important note by the veteran geographer Dr. K. Furrer, of Zürich:—

'That *Kersa* (the first discoverer of the place; Thomson, writes *Gersa*, Schumacher *Kursi*) may, so far as the sounds are concerned, be identified with Gerasa, no one will doubt who, for instance, knows that the Gabara of Josephus corresponds to the modern *Kâbra*. That there was a place Gerasa (Origen thought that it should be written Gergesa) on the eastern shore of the lake was known not only to Origen, who on his repeated journeys to Bostra may have been personally acquainted with this district, but also to Burchardus (1283), who remarks: *Gerasa civitas in littore maris sita Galilee, sub monte Seyr* (by which he means the highlands of *Jôlân*) *contra Tiberiadem fere, sed modicum declinans ad aquilonem.* Learned men have very often been, as it were, blind to the fact that the name Gerasa belongs to several different places. When this name occurred they always supposed themselves bound to think of the far-famed Gerasa in Peraea, and had no notion how strongly it speaks for the fidelity of the topographical tradition of the Evangelists

when they mention an otherwise obscure place of the same name. Many copyists wrote Gadara for Gerasa, because they knew nothing of the place so called on the eastern shore of the lake, while Gadara through its poets and thinkers was familiar to persons of Greek education. But those who were locally better informed knew of our Gerasa quite late, as Marino Sanudo in the fourteenth century. A faint knowledge of the fact is echoed in Willibaldus, Theodericus, Joh. Wirziburgensis, when they put Chorazin in place of Gerasa. . . . There seems therefore to be no necessity to look for the Gerasa of the Gospels elsewhere than at *Kersa* at the mouth of the *Wâdi es-Samak*[1].'

I am not able to speak as a philologist, but I would venture to make a suggestion for the consideration of philologists. Schumacher tells us expressly that 'the remains date from two periods: a more ancient one, from which only scattered building stones and foundations are still extant, and a more recent one, probably Roman.' May it not be that whereas Gerasa of Decapolis was a city of Greek foundation, so that the Greek name would be primary and directly represented by *Jerash*, *Kersa* or *Kursi* may stand for a more ancient name of which Gerasa or Gergesa are attempted Greek equivalents?

Another identification that I think we should say, but for a single hitch, works out neatly and satisfactorily is in regard to the Emmaus of St. Luke xxiv. 13. Here, as I will explain in a moment, the persistence of the name is indirect rather than direct, but is not on that account less convincing.

To Eusebius and Jerome, and throughout the earlier

[1] *ZDPV.* xxi (1898), p. 184 f.

Middle Ages, this Emmaus was the well-known city of that name, at the foot of the Judaean hills, the Emmaus Nicopolis mentioned often in the Books of Maccabees, which in the third century was the home of Julius Africanus.

This, however, is much too far from Jerusalem. And although a group of authorities headed by Cod. Sinaiticus reads '160 furlongs' for sixty, that must no doubt be dismissed as a correction.

On the whole, the more fashionable identification is with the village of *el-Ḳubêbeh*, where the Franciscans have built a monastery on the site of a Crusaders' church. But the tradition which identifies this with Emmaus does not begin until the fourteenth, or at the earliest the twelfth century, and I need not say is quite worthless. [But see p. 92.]

A far more promising claimant is a village that bears the name of *Ḳalôniyeh*, on the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa. We are expressly told by Josephus that after the Jewish war Titus planted a colony of 800 veterans at a village called Emmaus near Jerusalem (*B. J.* vii. 6. 6). And just as Megiddo is now called *Leǰǰûn* from the fact that a Roman legion had a station there, so also does Emmaus survive under an Arabic transliteration of the Latin *Colonia*. Besides the mention in Josephus, the place appears to be also alluded to in the Talmud.

One of the first to propose this identification was C. E. Caspari in his *Chronologisch-geographische Einleitung* (Hamburg, 1869). He thought himself the first, but found he had been anticipated (p. 208). As he presents the case, it is still more complete than I have stated. Caspari made Josephus, like St. Luke, give the

distance of Emmaus from Jerusalem as 'sixty furlongs.' We now know, however, that the best MSS. of Josephus have 'thirty furlongs' instead of sixty[1]; and this is really much nearer to the true distance (which is about thirty-four). There is the hitch; but I find it difficult to allow this to break up a chain of proof that is otherwise so complete. St. Luke tells the story at secondhand, perhaps from hearsay; and his figures must not be taken too strictly. The change of name to *Colonia* would account for the lost tradition.

Kalôniyeh is a pretty and flourishing village within an easy walk of Jerusalem, and with some traces of ancient foundations.

Topographers and commentators are now pretty well agreed that St. John's Sychar (iv. 5) is the modern *'Ain 'Askar*, situated at the foot of Mount Ebal, about a mile from Nâblus and rather less from Jacob's Well. The principal difficulty is the question why the woman should have gone all the way to Jacob's Well when, as the modern name implies, there is a good spring in the village of 'Askar itself.

This question has something in common with another which arises as to Jacob's Well itself. How is it that the well comes to be where it is; seeing that it is itself mainly artificial, while Nâblus and the immediate neighbourhood abounds in natural springs? In a communication to the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* (*PEFQ.*) for 1897, p. 197, Dr. H. J. Bailey quotes from a Mr. Mills, who had resided for three months at Nâblus, to the effect that 'the well is not an *'ain*, a well of living water, but a *ber*, a cistern to hold rain-water.' Dr. Bailey adds:—

[1] See Niese's *apparatus criticus ad loc.*

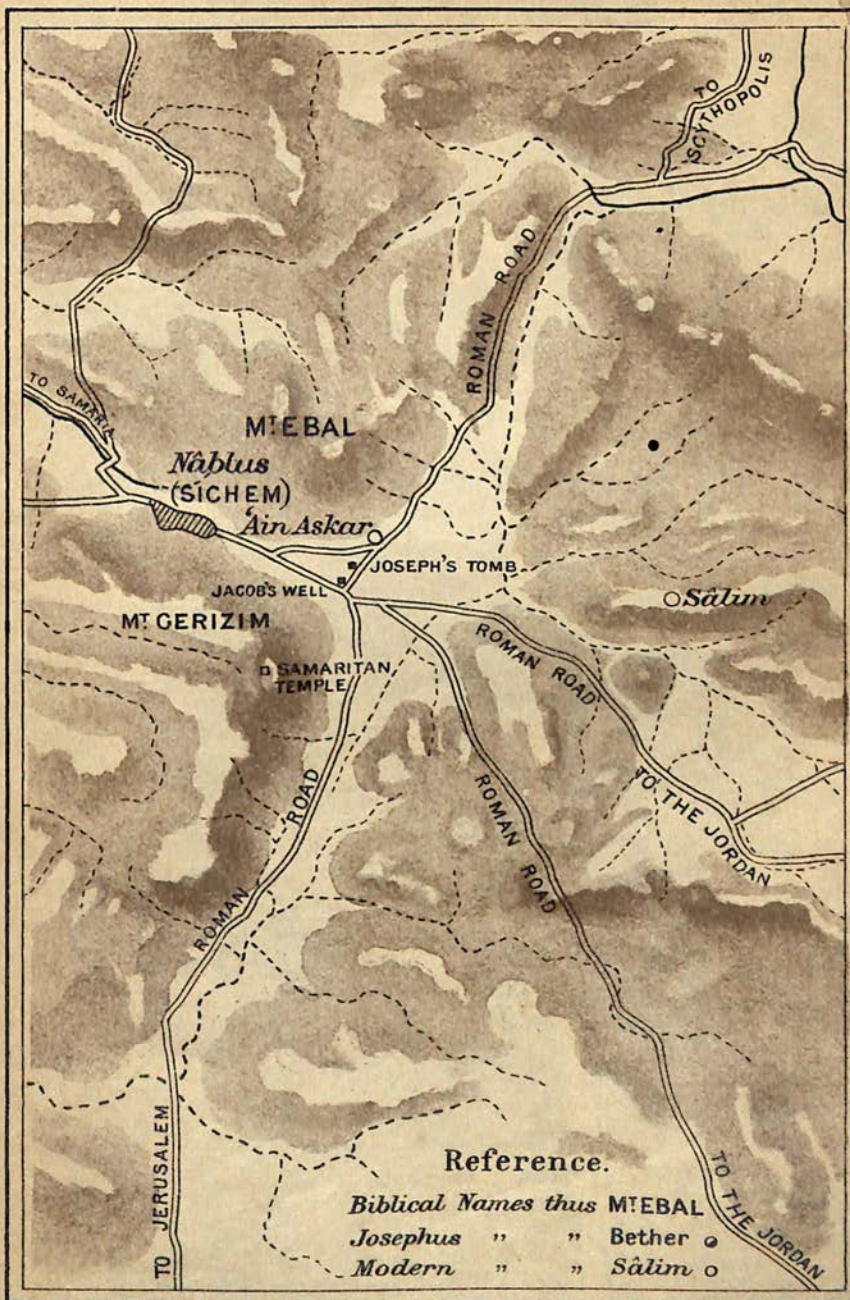
'The observations of various writers confirm this view, which well accords with the fact that for many years comparatively little water found its way into the well, as the surrounding surface has been neglected and in a ruinous state. An examination of the spot shows that the *true* mouth of the well is some distance below the surrounding surface, and was made in such a position as to ensure a large quantity of rain-water finding its way into the well. The Greek custodians have lately cleared the surroundings and mouth of the well, and the immediate result, in spite of the many feet of accumulated rubbish in the well itself, is a far better and more constant supply of water. There can, therefore, be little doubt that rain-water plays a large part in the supply of this well, and that the keen and accurate perceptions of the natives have long detected an *essential* difference in the quality of the water as compared with the surrounding springs.'

The reason assigned for the sinking of the well is to avoid collision with the natives of the district who had rights, which they would jealously maintain, in the springs of the neighbourhood.

In any case we must take Jacob's Well as we find it. It would be rash to suppose any transfer of the name of a spot already so well known and so greatly venerated at the beginning of the Christian era.

In regard to the woman of Sychar, it is true that her presence precisely at that spot and at that time of the day (noon) needs some explanation. The usual time for drawing water was early morning or evening. It is possible that the special sacredness and real excellence of the water (on a hot day it is beautifully soft and refreshing) had something to do with it. But perhaps the best suggestion is one put forward (*PEFQ. ut sup.*

ENVIRONS OF NÂBLUS.



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SCALE OF MILES

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p. 149) by Dr. H. C. Trumbull of Philadelphia, U.S.A., known for his researches on Kadesh Barnea, that the woman was not engaged in fetching water for her household but for workmen employed on the adjacent cornlands. There is no profit in pursuing a question of this kind further. We cannot be sure of exhausting the local needs and casual motives of nearly nineteen hundred years ago.

Before descending to Jacob's Well I had looked down from the northern summit of Mount Gerizim on the village of *Sâlim* as it lies peacefully on the slope of the shallow basin which collects the first waters of the *Wâdy el-Fâr'a*. Some way lower down the valley there are some ruins on the top of a hill that bear the name of *'Ainûn*. Many writers identify these two places with the 'Aenon near to Salim' of St. John iii. 23. The most confident of these writers is the editor of the new Macmillan's *Guide*. He says:—

'On the north side of Wâdy Farah [el-Fâr'a] stands an old ruined site called *'Ainûn*, and undoubtedly marking the site of Aenon, mentioned by St. John with Salim. . . . Here then we have one of the few absolute certainties of sacred spots in Palestine: and it was undoubtedly at these head waters of the Wâdy Farah that the Baptist was exercising his functions when he was taken prisoner by Herod Antipas.'

Macmillan's *Guide* is pleasantly and readably written; at times rather diffuse, when it need not be, but as a rule practical and well suited for those who do not desire to be overburdened with information. But I cannot think that the editor is happy in his identifications, and

still less in the confidence with which he speaks of some of them. *'Ainûn* is about seven miles as the crow flies from *Sâlim*, with two considerable ridges intervening; it would be much more by the track that does duty for a road; so that it would be strange if it were described as 'near to Salim'; and strange also that ruins on the top of a hill should mark a spot where 'there was much water.' 'Here is precisely the name Aenon; but unfortunately there is no Salim near, nor a drop of water,' is Dr. Robinson's summary verdict[1].

Both Eusebius and Jerome expressly place Aenon and Salim in the Jordan valley eight Roman miles south of Scythopolis (*Beisân*), and the two sites were certainly shown here in the fourth century. The pilgrim Silvia's description of her visit to them is interesting. She was shown the city of Melchizedek, formerly called Salem but then 'corruptly Sedima.' This was on a low hill on the top of which stood a church; and near to it were the foundations of what she was told was Melchizedek's palace. Remembering that St. John was said to have baptized in Aenon near to Salim she asked the presbyter in charge how far it was.

'Then said the holy presbyter: There it is two hundred paces off; if you please I will take you there on foot. The stream that you see in the village, so copious and so pure, comes from that fountain: Then I began to thank him and to beg him to conduct us to the place, which he did. So we began at once to go on foot all the way down a delightful valley until we came to a very pleasant orchard, where he showed

[1] *Biblical Researches*, iii. 305; cf. Sir C. Wilson, art. 'Aenon' in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*

us in the midst a spring of water very good and pure which sent forth a full stream in one jet. In front of it the spring had a sort of basin, in which it appeared that St. John had baptized. Then said the holy presbyter to us, This orchard is now called in Greek nothing but "the garden of St. John," which is what you call in Latin *hortus sancti Iohannis.* For many holy monks our brethren, coming from different places, are eager to bathe here[1].'

Silvia goes on to tell how she said her prayers and read a lesson and sang an appropriate psalm, as she was accustomed at the sacred sites, and then after more talk and hospitality went thankfully on her way.

The most satisfactory concise account of the present condition of the site is that by Sir Charles Wilson (and the late Sir George Grove) in the article in the second edition of Smith's *Dictionary* referred to above.

'In the Jordan valley, about seven and a half miles from *Beisân* (Scythopolis), there is a remarkable group of seven springs, all lying within a radius of a quarter of a mile, which answers to the description "many waters." Close to the springs are the considerable ruins of *Umm el-'Amdân,* and about three-quarters of a mile to the north is *Tell Ridhghah,* an artificial mound, on the top of which is the tomb of *Sheikh Sâlim.* This is almost certainly the spot indicated by Eusebius and Jerome, and there is nothing remarkable in the disappearance of the ruins when it is considered that such important towns as Jericho and Antipatris have entirely disappeared.'

If we are right in supposing that Bethany beyond Jordan was not very far from Bethabara, we shall then have a little group of sites in a northern section of the

[1] *Itin. Hieros.* (1898), p. 57 f.

course of the Jordan which were the scene of the Baptist's activity, as well as those in the neighbourhood of Jericho. There is no reason to give up the latter, which are not only marked by the great body of tradition down to the present day, but are also suggested by the nature of the case. When St. John first appears in the Synoptic narrative we are told that 'there went out unto him all the country of Judaea and all they of Jerusalem.' For the inhabitants of the southern province the most accessible point would be the ford or fords near Jericho[1]. A more northerly site would draw upon the inhabitants of Galilee and Decapolis. It is probable enough that the Baptist moved from place to place.

I pass on to a subject that was much in my thoughts in going to Palestine, the question as to the true site of Capernaum. This question so affects the very heart of our Lord's ministry that I was specially anxious to reach a clear decision upon it; and although I came back with some of the data more firmly apprehended and confirmed in my general view of the probabilities of the case, I could not feel that all the difficulties were removed or that the question was wholly solved.

I am not here to make out a case for one site or another. I am here first to form for myself and then to try to convey to you as truthful an impression as I can. And I believe that I shall discharge this latter duty best if I may be allowed to carry your thoughts

[1] The place to which pilgrims at present resort is a little to the south of that indicated by mediaeval tradition, which is just above the Greek monastery of St. John. This monastery occupies the site of one which is said to have been erected by the Empress Helena and was in existence in the time of Justinian.

along the same track that was taken by my own. In other words, I will first sketch the history of the problem, as it was present to my mind before I left home. Then I will try to state the topographical conditions as they appeared upon the spot. And lastly, I will do my best to state the arguments for and against the two opposing views.

(1) Any one who has followed the history of Palestine exploration will have noticed that there has been a certain swaying of the pendulum on this question of Capernaum. We might mark off roughly three periods. In the first, arguments were put forward now on one side and now on the other for the two main competing sites, *Tell Ḥûm* and *Khân Minyeh*. Excellent authorities favoured each. Then for about two decades there seemed to be a distinct preponderance in favour of Tell Ḥûm. And now during the last decade and more especially towards its close the balance seems to have swung round towards Khân Minyeh. I may show this to the eye by setting some of the leading authorities side by side.

For *Tell Ḥûm*.	For *Khân Minyeh*.
Ritter (1850–1852).	Robinson (from 1838).
Furrer (from 1865).	Stanley (from 1856).
Neubauer (1869).	Sepp (from 1862).
Thomson (from 1869).	Keim (1867).
Sir C. Wilson (from 1871).	Conder (from 1879).
Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon* (Furrer), 1871.	Merrill (from 1881).
Socin (from 1872).	G. A. Smith (from 1894).
Schürer (from 1874).	Hastings, *D. B.* (Ewing), 1898.
Guérin (1880).	Von Soden (1898).
Riehm, *Handwörterbuch* (Wolff), 1884.	*Encyclopaedia Biblica* (G. A. Smith), 1899.
Guthe (from 1890).	Rider Haggard (1901).
Buhl (1896).	

If we were to look only at the personal authority of the writers, the balance might seem to be in favour of *Tell Ḥûm* (though there are some good names in the other list); but we are struck not so much by the weight of particular evidence, as by the distribution of the whole in reference to time.

The Bible Dictionaries may be taken as representative. And it will be seen that whereas in the seventies and eighties both the dictionaries that appeared were for Tell Ḥûm, the two most recently issued are for Khân Minyeh. Not only so, but all the most recent writers (except Buhl and Schürer in the latest edition of his great work, who both represent the older tradition) are on the same side. Two of the writers mentioned, von Soden and Rider Haggard, are confessedly the mouthpieces of Father Biever of the German Catholic Palestine Society, who is in charge of the hospice at *et-Ṭâbigha*. I was led to think that the influence of Father Biever might have been felt further than it was seen, and that he perhaps might be the ultimate cause of the seeming revolution in opinion. It may therefore be supposed that I looked forward with the greatest interest to the possibility of meeting him, rather hoping that all my own doubts and questions might be set at rest.

I had the good fortune to find Father Biever at home and to enjoy a brief conversation with him. He is a native of Luxemburg, on the confines of French and German science, and a striking personality. Both to Prof. von Soden and to Mr. Rider Haggard he seems to have expressed his views quite decidedly and without qualification. But I was not long in discovering that he

really had some mental reserve, and that he was conscious that the arguments were not quite all on one side.

(2) With this much of preface as to the history of opinion, I may now go on to describe the topographical conditions of the problem.

Towards the north end of the lake the cliff wall recedes or breaks up and gives place to a series of gentle slopes gradually leading up to the conspicuous height (more than 3,000 feet above the level of the lake) on which is planted the town of Ṣafed, the typical and traditional 'city set on a hill[1].'

This configuration may be said to begin at Magdala, which lies at the foot of the bold crags *Ḳal'at Ibn Ma'ân*. From this point the coast is trending NE. in beautiful shallow curves, only perhaps at *et-Ṭâbigha* amounting to a bay. For three miles from Magdala stretches the rich plain of Gennesar or Gennesaret (*el-Ghuweir*[2]), which is two miles in breadth and perhaps the most fertile spot in the whole land, as fertile naturally as the Delta of the Nile. At the NE. end the hills, which had so far kept at a modest distance, push forward but still gently towards the lake and form a sort of low promontory. Just in the hollow that is thus formed and set back perhaps some 300 yards from the lake, and on a slight rise in the ground, are the ruins of a great Saracenic khân or caravanserai, known to have been in existence in the time of Saladin. This is *Khân Minyeh*. There are

[1] It is 2,749 feet above the Mediterranean level, and the Sea of Galilee is some 680 below it. The age of Ṣafed is disputed and rather uncertain. The Jewish colony did not settle here till the sixteenth century. But Dr. Neubauer was inclined to identify it with the *Seph* of Josephus and *Cephath* of the Talmud (*Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 227).

[2] 'i. e. the little *Ghôr*, or "hollow"' (Dr. Driver).

some other ruins below it, and according to Schumacher some also above it. These are not, as I gather, very extensive. But that cannot be wondered at, as the materials have doubtless been used up in the building of the khân.

Rounding the little promontory we come in about ten minutes to the German hospice, and then perhaps in ten or fifteen minutes more, at the other end of the curve which I have described as almost a bay, to the abundant springs *'Ain et-Ṭâbigha*, the ancient *Heptapegon*. The Arabic word, as you will perceive, preserves the sound of the Greek. Macmillan's *Guide*, which speaks of 'five springs' instead of seven, is naturally puzzled to see the resemblance. But the so-called groups of seven springs —of which we have a classical example in Beersheba— are not meant to be taken literally, any more than the so-called 'Seven Churches' in Ireland; they only mean that the springs are more than usually strong and copious.

I should have said that our path from *Khân Minyeh* round the promontory lay in part through a curious cutting in the solid rock some three feet deep and wide, and twenty to thirty feet above the lake, which was no doubt really an aqueduct to convey the waters of *et-Ṭâbigha* to the sloping ground at the back of *Khân Minyeh*. I asked myself at first why this could be wanted, as there is a fine spring (*'Ain et-Tîn*) just below the khân between it and the lake. But clearly this could not send its waters to the rear, as Heptapegon by its greater elevation could.

From Heptapegon onwards the features of the ground are less marked, and in a short two miles we come to

Tell Ḥûm. Here there is another field of ruins, now in the possession of the Franciscans, who have erected a wall round a great part of it and are excavating. Not all that used to be visible can now be seen, but there are several finely carved limestone blocks in the garden that have been identified as belonging to the ancient synagogue. Schürer thinks that this may date from the palmy days of Judaism round the Sea of Galilee, i. e. from the second to the fourth century A. D. I am afraid this is more probable than that they really date from the time of our Lord.

In front of the Franciscan enclosure are two small jetties; but these are quite modern, and there are no indications of an ancient harbour. *Tell Ḥûm* looks straight out over the lake and has not the variety of interest of *Khân Minyeh*.

About two and a half miles further is the mouth of the Jordan, and it may be as much more to *et-Tell*, the supposed site of Bethsaida Julias, on the left bank of the river. It is worthy of note that the delta which the river forms here is said to have increased considerably from alluvial deposit; so that we should think of the ancient coast-line as some way further back than it is at present. This will make some features in the Gospel narrative, more especially as to the events preceding the Feeding of the Five Thousand, rather more intelligible.

The question as to the site of Bethsaida is intimately bound up with that of Capernaum. It used to be thought that in order to satisfy the Biblical data there must have been two Bethsaidas: one, Bethsaida Julias of which we have just been speaking, enlarged and adorned by Herod Philip in honour of Julia, daughter

of Augustus; and the other a sort of harbour for Capernaum. If Capernaum were at *Khân Minyeh*, it would be natural to place this harbour on the little bay of *et-Ṭâbigha*.

It is however coming to be more and more questioned whether it is really necessary to assume this second Bethsaida. I should be myself prepared to think that the inference rests on a stricter interpretation of Mark vi. 45 than the words will warrant[1]. The grounds alleged do not seem adequate to justify the invention of a place not otherwise attested. Besides, we know that the ancient name of *et-Ṭâbigha* was Heptapegon; and none of the authorities so much as hint at anything else.

It is quite possible that there may have been an old part and a new part of Bethsaida Julias, and that the references in the Gospels are rather to the old than to the new (cf. p. 48 below), as our Lord rarely entered these fashionable Greek cities.

(3) We are now brought definitely face to face with the main issue, the choice between *Khân Minyeh* and *Tell Ḥûm* for the site of Capernaum.

(i) The attraction of *Tell Ḥûm* lies largely in the name. The more correct spelling is Capharnaum: now *Caphar* (the modern *Kefr*) = 'village,' just as *Tell* = 'hill'; and *Ḥûm may* be taken to be a contraction for 'Naḥum.' So that it would be obvious to suppose that 'Nahum's village' simply passed into 'Nahum's hill, or mound.'

[1] We have to remember that the Gospel was probably written at Rome, and that its author was a native of Jerusalem, not of Galilee. We cannot be surprised if his language on topographical points sometimes lacks precision.

There are said to be some philological difficulties in this: e.g. it is maintained by Sepp that the proper contraction would be *Nûm* and not *Ḥûm*.

It is also maintained that *Tell Ḥûm* is really a corruption of *Tanḥum* or *Tenḥum*. The forms *Kefar Tanḥum*, *Tanḥumin* and *Teḥumin* are found in the Talmud[1].

It seems to me that we are shut up to the conclusion that *Tell Ḥûm* is a corruption, because there is no Tell anywhere near. There is only the gentlest possible upwards slope of the ground, and no 'hill' or 'mound.' I put the question directly to my dragoman, who was an intelligent specimen of his class, whether the site could possibly be described as a *Tell*; and he answered decidedly No.

This however still leaves the difficulty that the name *Kefar Tanḥum* must have been comparatively recent. The place, one would think, must have had an older name, as to which we are no wiser. It also appears from mediaeval documents referred to by G. A. Smith that the Jews made pilgrimages to the tomb of Nahum; and we cannot doubt that this was at Capernaum. But where Capernaum itself was, there is nothing to show.

(ii) The indications in the Gospels favour *Khân Minyeh* as I think clearly, but not quite so stringently as Dr. Robinson supposed. They seem to connect Capernaum with the Plain of Gennesaret in a way that is better satisfied if Capernaum was actually upon it than if it were two and a half miles away.

(iii) This is still more decidedly the case with

[1] Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 221.

Josephus, whose language is express. After speaking of the extraordinary fertility of the plain he adds:—

'Besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertilizing [reading γονιμωτάτῃ, v. l. ποτιμωτάτῃ] fountain. The people of the country call it Capharnaum. Some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Coracin fish[1] as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of the plain extends along the shore of the lake that bears the same name for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty, and this is the nature of that place[2].'

It is not quite clear what fountain Josephus means—probably *et-Ṭâbigha* rather than *'Ain et-Tîn*. But at *Tell Ḥum* there is no fountain of any sort, and it has no connexion with the Plain of Gennesaret. If there is any crucial argument in the case it is this. The other indications drawn from Josephus are indecisive.

(iv) On the other hand, the evidence of the pilgrims does not come out very clearly, but on the whole favours *Tell Ḥûm*.

Unfortunately Eusebius and Jerome are too vague to help us; and if Silvia visited Capernaum, that part of her narrative is not preserved. Antoninus also tells us nothing that helps us. The first precise statement meets us in Theodosius (530 A.D.). Theodosius gives distances that should be exact, and in part are so. The critical text of his treatise published by the Vienna Academy in 1898 reads as follows:—

'From Tiberias to Magdala, where the lady Mary was

[1] Dr. Tristram argues from the presence of this fish for the 'Round Fountain' (*'Ain el-Mudawwara*). The difficulty is that there are no ruins.

[2] *B. J.* iii. 10. 8.

born, is two [Roman] miles. [This is rather too little.] From Magdala to Seven Fountains [Heptapegon], where the Lord Christ baptized the Apostles, is two miles, where He also fed the people with five loaves and two fishes. [There is no variant reading; but II may be a corruption of III or V; the number is certainly too small.] From Seven Fountains to Capharnaum is two miles. [This is really exact, if applied to *Tell Ḥûm*.] From Capharnaum to Bethsaida, where were born the Apostles Peter, Andrew, Philip, and the sons of Zebedee, is VI miles. [This may be very fairly correct.] From Bethsaida to Panias is L[1].'

Not only has Theodosius got the distance from Heptapegon to Capernaum right, but he clearly puts the latter place after Heptapegon and not before.

The other witness is Arculfus (*c.* 685 A. D.), as reported by Adamnan. What he says is this:—

'Those who going down from Jerusalen desire to visit Capharnaum, as Arculfus told me, go straight through Tiberias; and then pass along Lake Cinereth, also called the Sea of Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee, and then through the place of the Blessing of the Loaves [the Feeding of the Five Thousand, which one tradition placed on the hillside at the back of *Khân Minyeh*]; from whence at no great distance (*non longo circuitu*) they reach Capharnaum by the sea in the borders of Zabulun and Naphtali. This city, as I was told by Arculfus who saw it from a neighbouring mountain, is without a wall and is confined within a narrow space between the mountain and the lake stretching from east to west for a considerable distance along the shore with the mountain to the north and the lake to the south[2].'

The description would really suit *Khân Minyeh* better than *Tell Ḥûm*, because there the city would be really

[1] *Itin. Hieros.* p. 137 f. [2] Ibid. p. 273 f.

'confined' by the hills; and most writers take the passage in that sense. It is also true that there is another traditional site for the Feeding of the Five Thousand (at *Ḥajar en-Nuṣâra*, on the high plateau N. or NW. of Tiberias), which would be reached before arriving at *Khân Minyeh*—neither of the two sites can really hold good, because both are in a populous region and that indicated in the Gospels is clearly E. of the lake; but on the whole I believe that Arculfus had in his mind the same site as Theodosius, and that he too intended to locate Capernaum at *Tell Ḥûm*.

(v) There is also a natural presumption in favour of *Tell Ḥûm* from the fact that at the present day the ruins there are more important, and in particular they include the striking remains of the synagogue. Not very much, however, can really be built upon this. We know that Tiberias contained many fine buildings of marble; and yet I believe I am right in saying that not a trace of marble exists there to-day. Sir Charles Wilson refers significantly to a report that some of the carved blocks at *Tell Ḥûm* had been burnt there for lime, and conveyed in that state to Tiberias[1].

I will conclude with two arguments for which I am indebted to Father Biever in part directly, and in part through the report of Professor von Soden. [They are however really of older origin and are urged particularly by Sepp.]

(vi) The khan of *Khân Minyeh* is a stage on the great caravan route from Damascus to Jerusalem, and thence to Gaza and Egypt. These routes keep to their old lines; so that we may safely assume that the same spot was

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 387.

on a main thoroughfare and a place of lively traffic in the time of our Lord. There would thus be an obvious reason for the tollhouse from which St. Matthew was called, while there would be no such clear reason on the site of *Tell Ḥûm*.

(vii) There is also much more of a beach on either side of the promontory near *Khân Minyeh* than there could be said to be at *Tell Ḥûm*. It appears that when the water is low remains of harbour works can be seen. We are told that this part of the lake is much more frequented both by fish and by fishermen than any other. The fish are attracted by the stream of warmer water that comes in from *'Ain eṭ-Ṭâbigha*. Both these arguments go to reinforce in a substantial way our previous inference that the Biblical data agree better with the hypothesis that Khân Minyeh is Capernaum. And this fact, taken with the clear and strong evidence of Josephus, cuts at the root of the later tangle caused by the apparent shifting of Christian and Jewish tradition.

There remains the question, which was evidently rather haunting the mind of Father Biever: If the ruins of *Tell Ḥûm* are not those of Capernaum, to what place do they belong? They cannot be identified with any of the other more important sites that are known to have existed along the lake. Not to me, but to Professor von Soden, Father Biever threw out the suggestion that they are a Jewish branch settlement from Tiberias, founded after the time of our Lord and associated with the Rabbi Tanḥum.

We must not be moved by reasons of sentiment; and I do not allege what I am going to say as a reason. But one would like to think that the true site was *Khân*

Minyeh. As I stood on the ruins of the khân, the landscape that stretched before my eyes was, I thought, the most beautiful that met them in the whole of Palestine. The contrast of the rich dark green of the plain with the bold precipices of *Wâdy el-Ḥamâm* rising straight in front, and fringed on the one side by the curving shore and on the other by the gently swelling uplands, was a thing not to be forgotten. It spoke of something more than the variety of nature. It hinted also at the infinite variety in the lives and characters of men. I had not realized that Capernaum was full in view of a famous haunt of robbers, a haunt perhaps also of desperate patriots. Among the peaceful fisher-folk and tillers of the soil, and among the gay coloured caravans of traders coming and going, there must have been felt the stress of sterner and fiercer passions; and such surroundings were a fit home for Him who came to seek and to save that which was lost.

The topographical features naturally lend themselves to the suggestion that the axis, so to speak, of our Lord's public ministry lay along this great road from Damascus to the south from about the point where it crosses the ridge above Chorazin to the neighbourhood of Nain. This seems to have been the region of His most prolonged and persistent working; but there were excursions from time to time to the west and north and east, besides the journeys to the great feasts at Jerusalem.

Note. In the map of the Sea of Galilee I have embodied an attractive suggestion of Dr. Guthe's as to the site of Old Bethsaida (*Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, s. v. 'Bethsaida'). There is a Roman road from the site indicated to *et-Tell*.

SEA OF GALILEE.

Derbishire & Stanford Ltd.,

The Oxford Geographical Institute

NOTES ON PLATES XXIII—XXXVI.

Plate XXIII B. There are no less than four so-called Cliffs of Precipitation (referring to the incident of St. Luke iv. 29): one in the hands of the Latins; one in the hands of the Greeks; one some way out of Nazareth (the cliff shown in Pl. LIII), and the one in this plate, which is not only more probable than the rest, but in itself really probable, as it lies just at the back of ancient Nazareth.

Plate XXVI. The traditional Tomb of Lazarus is in the lane going up the hill to the right; and it is at least so far like the real tomb that one descends into it by a shaft cut in the rock.

The conical hill in the distance is the site of a fortress built by Herod the Great and called *Herodium*. The name 'Frank Mountain' is given to it in consequence of a legend connecting it with the Crusaders, but of no real authority. The platform at the top is artificially formed.

Plate XXVIII. I was unfortunately not able to obtain a photograph of what I believe to be the true Emmaus (*Ḳalôniyeh*). The plate represents the site now most in favour, with ruins of the apses of a Crusaders' church.

Plate XXIX. Since the photograph was taken, the site of Jacob's Well, with the ruins of the church erected over it, has been neatly enclosed. I cannot be sure of the exact position of *Sâlim*, but it lay on the gentle slope to the right of the picture. *'Ainûn* is some way beyond the high ridge on the horizon.

Plate XXXI. *Khân Minyeh*, which I believe to be the slightly more probable site of Capernaum, lies just to the left of a reddish-white cliff which can be barely distinguished in the photograph. The ancient road came down upon it just over the hill. The spurs in the left of the picture run up to *Ṣafed*, more than 3,000 ft. above the level of the lake.

Plate XXXII. The photograph hardly does justice to the picturesque abruptness of the cliffs, some 1,100 ft. high, in the face of which to the right of the picture are the robbers' caves mentioned in Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 15. 4, 5; *B. J.* i. 16. 2–4.

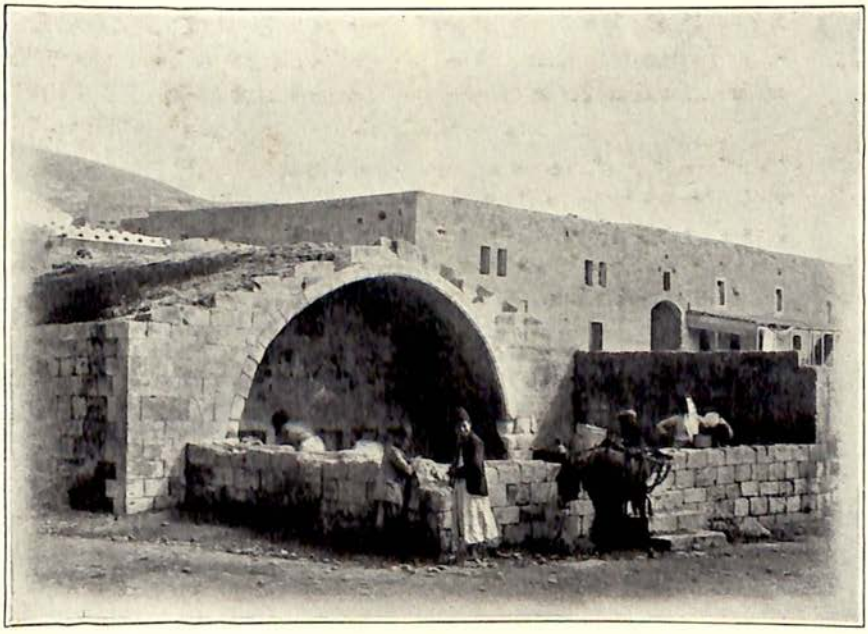
Plate XXXIII. The Cliffs of the Robbers just come in on the left of the picture. Next to them are the Horns of Ḥattîn, the traditional scene of the Sermon on the Mount, where the Crusaders fought their last disastrous battle with Saladin which sealed the fate of Jerusalem. The aqueduct in the next plate is just above the prominent bush on the ridge sloping down to the lake.

Plate XXXVI. The photograph is on too small a scale to give an adequate idea of the picturesqueness of Tiberias, with its mediaeval castle and walls, with its mosque minaret and palms. Traces of the ancient city (built by Herod Antipas 16–22 A.D.) extend more into the foreground.

PLATE XXIII B

NAZARETH: CLIFF OF PRECIPITATION (PROBABLE).

PLATE XXIII A.

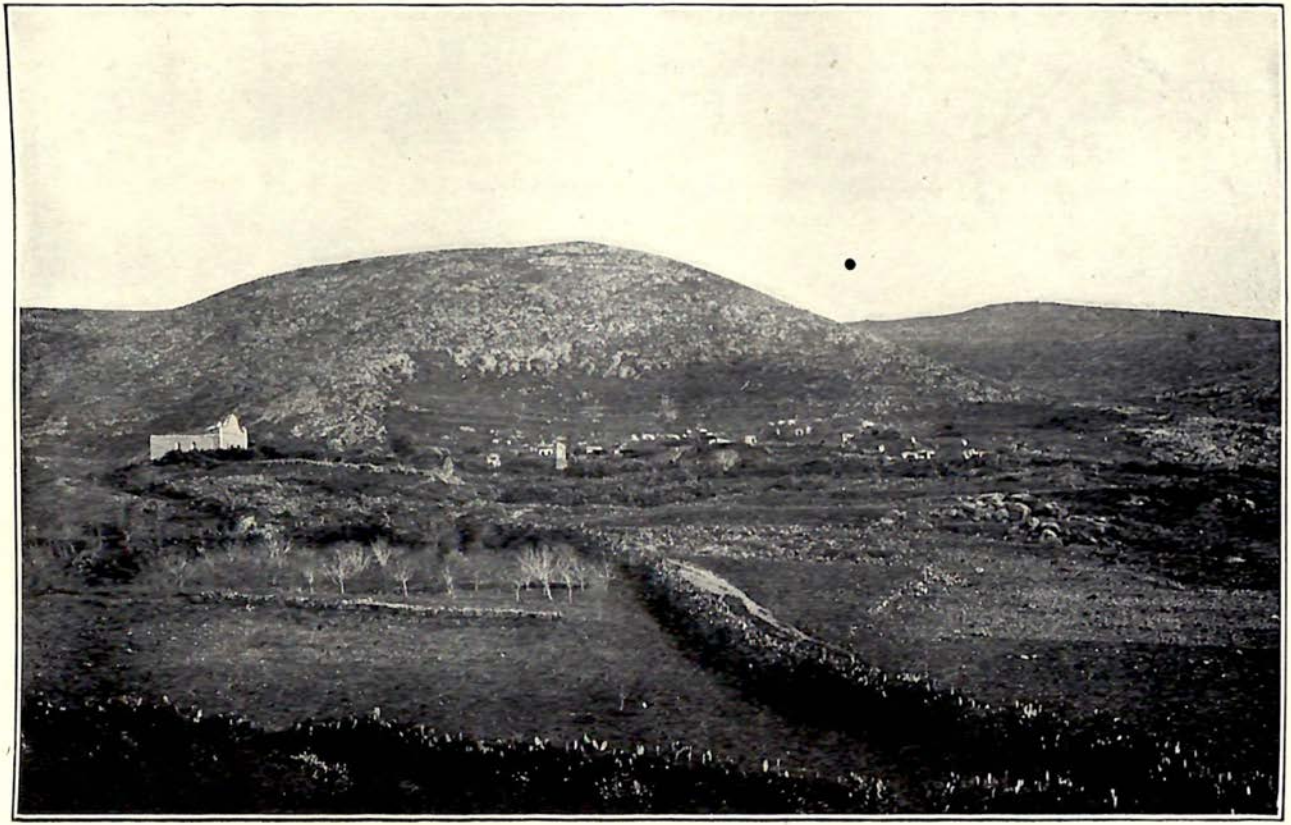


NAZARETH: THE VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN.

PLATE XXIV.

CANA? (*Kefr Kenna*).

PLATE XXV.

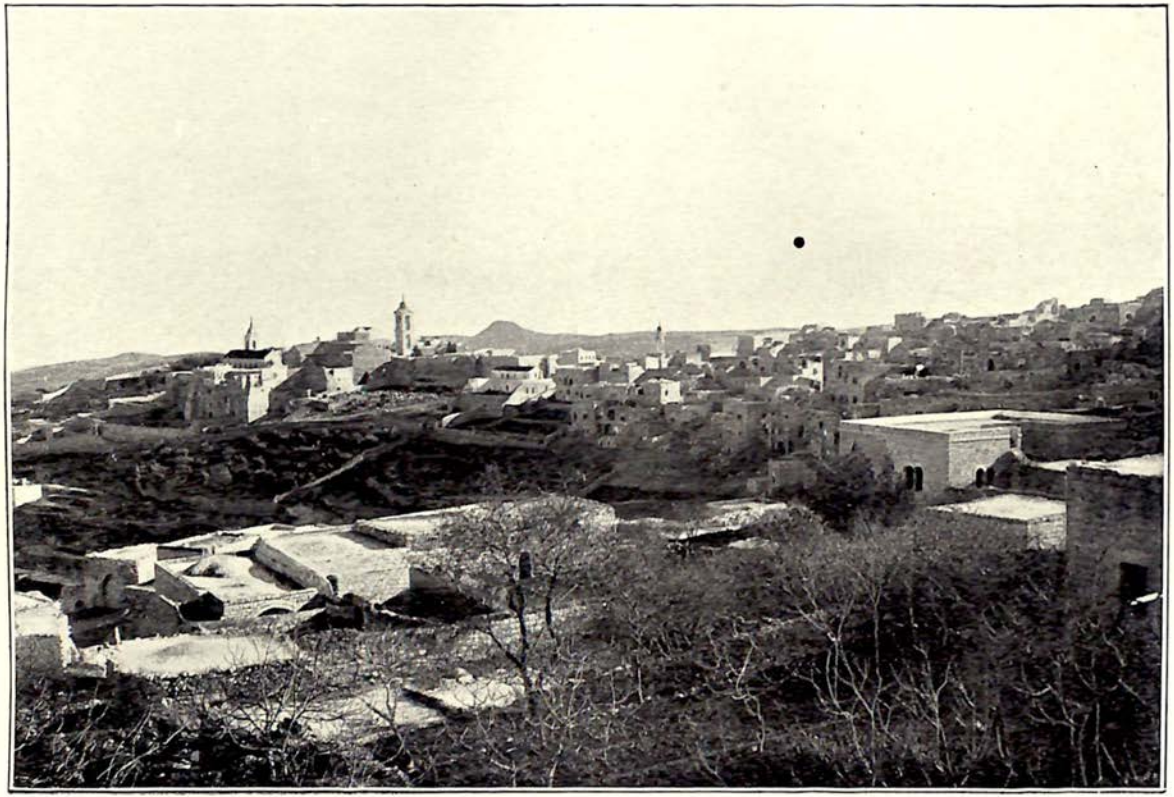


NAIN.

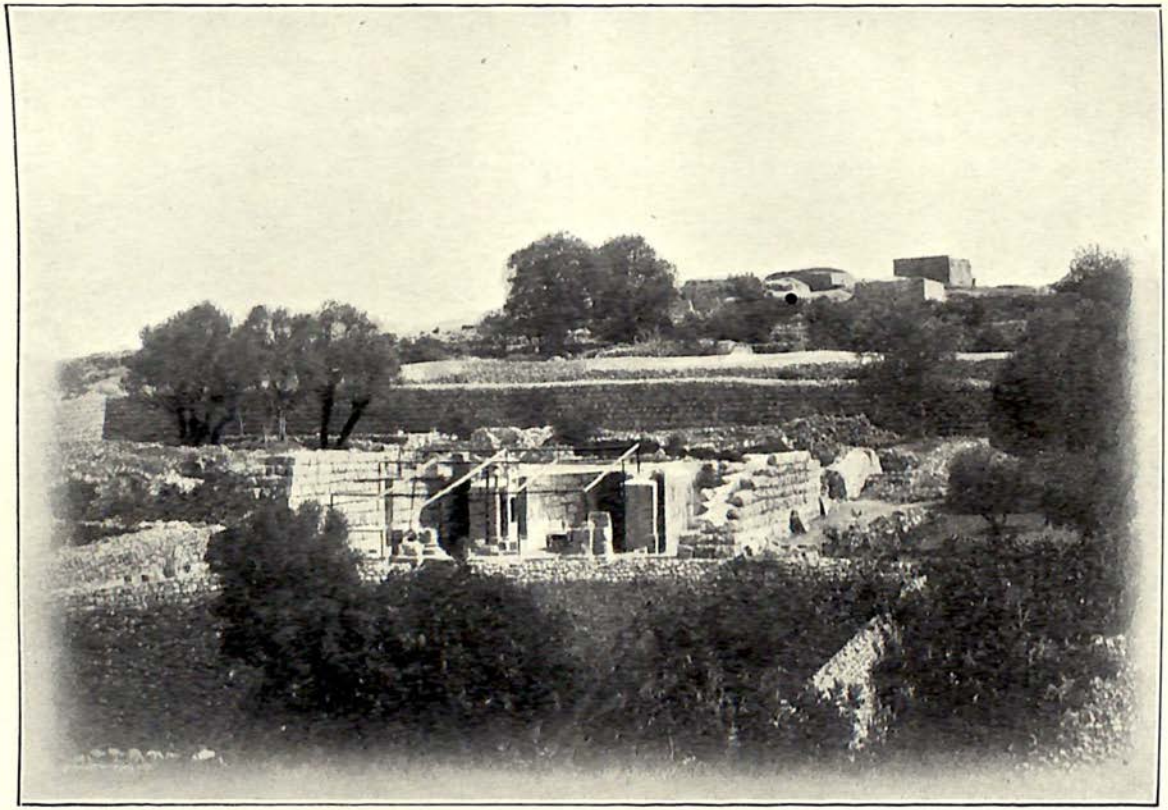
Frank Mountain.

BETHANY.

PLATE XXVII.



BETHLEHEM.



SUPPOSED (BUT LESS PROBABLE) SITE OF EMMAUS (*el-Ḳubêbeh*).

'Ainûn in distance behind the ridge. *Sâlim.*

JACOB'S WELL, WITH CRUSADERS' CHURCH (NOW ENCLOSED).

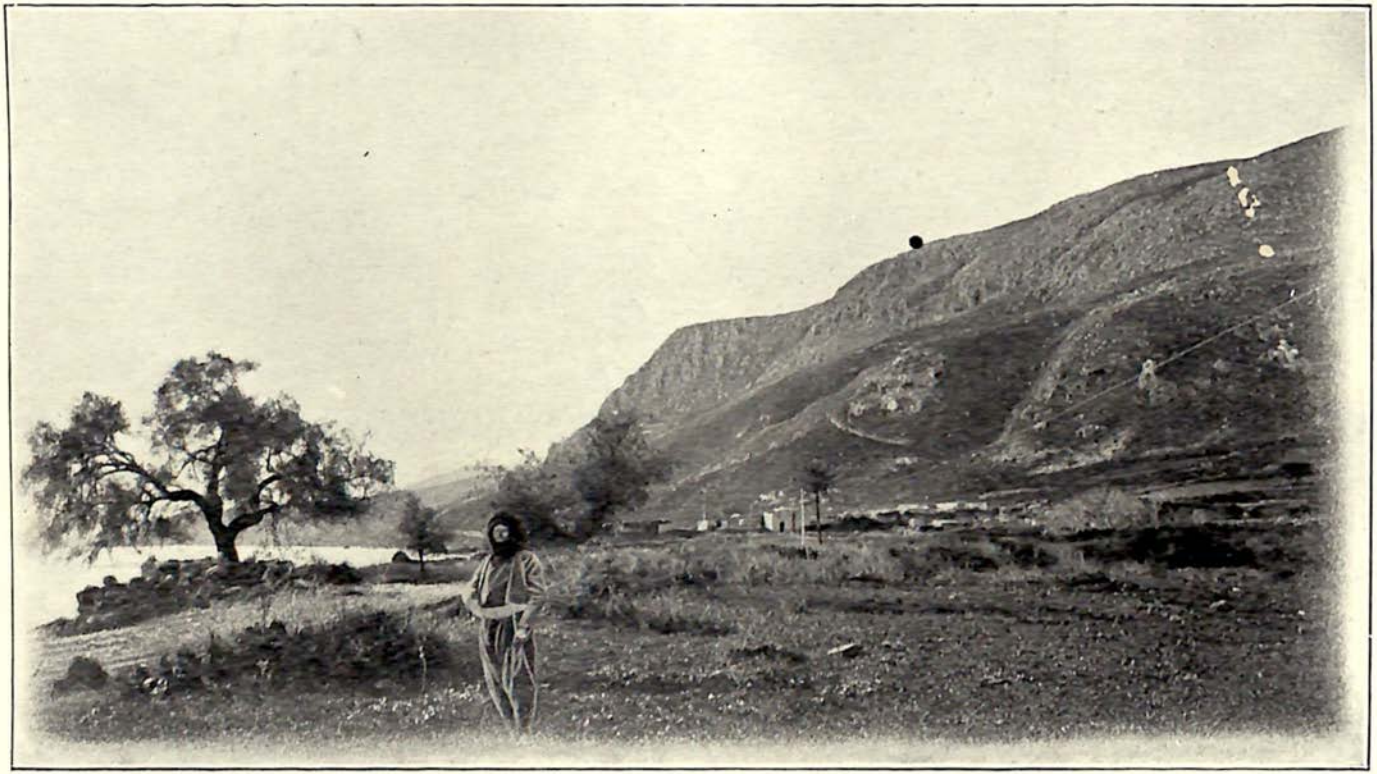
PLATE XXX.

Mount Ebal.

So-called Tomb of Joseph.

JOSEPH'S TOMB : VILLAGE OF SYCHAR : MOUNT EBAL.

MAGDALA (LOOKING N.E.) AND PLAIN OF GENNESARET.



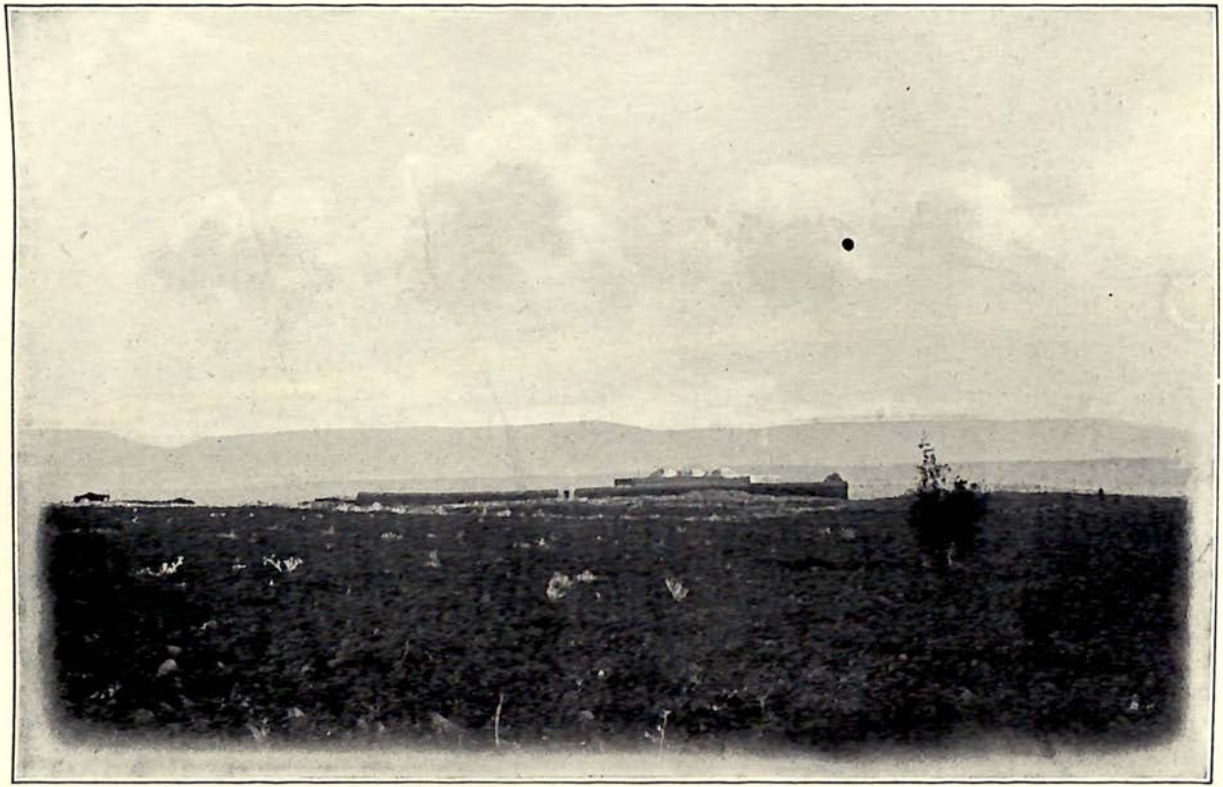
MAGDALA (LOOKING S.W.).

PLATE XXXIII. *Ḳarn Ḥattin.* *Khân Minyeh* (under the hill). German Hospice.

'AIN ET-ṬÂBIGHA.

AQUEDUCT AT *KHÂN MINYEH.*

PLATE XXXV.



TELL ḤÛM: FIELD OF RUINS.

TIBERIAS (LOOKING N.).

III

SITES IN JERUSALEM

We have been dealing so far mainly with sites which we are enabled to recognize through the survival of ancient names; we shall now have to speak of sites round which there has gathered a more luxuriant growth of tradition and legend.

The most important point in regard to this is that we should not treat it wholesale, as though it were all of the same kind, and because we condemn some therefore condemn all. In this, as in so many other things, we must distinguish. The first question to be asked in regard to any tradition is, When does it first appear? when do we begin to have evidence for it? And the second question, which is by no means identical with the first, is, What is its origin? How does it seem to have arisen?

There are many strata or layers, or 'seed beds' we might perhaps call them, of tradition, and each of these has its own special character and value or want of value. Crusading tradition is one thing; Mahometan, another; Jewish, a third; and Christian tradition of the Byzantine period is distinct from Christian tradition of the age of Constantine. It is this last age, the age of Constantine, that requires the closest attention, because much of that too counts for very little historically; but there

are grains of wheat mingled with the chaff, and we must be on our guard against losing these along with the rubbish.

The critical period of all is the period, say, between 70 and 323 A.D. What we have to do is to look hard at the tradition in the form in which it first meets us and to see whether that form suggests links of connexion, or whether from any other extraneous source we can find anything to enable us to span the gap, and so connect the story as it reaches us with the original facts to which it professes to testify. This is the real centre of interest and the real ground for investigation. Some deeply important examples of what I have been saying will soon come before us; but I must begin with others of lesser moment.

Of lesser moment do I say? and yet the first that I have on my list will bring us very near to a question of larger scope than itself.

In the February number of the *Zeitschrift für die Neutest. Wissenschaft*, a new periodical in the third year of its existence, there is an elaborate paper by Dr. J. Kreyenbühl on the 'Place of our Lord's Condemnation.' Dr. Kreyenbühl is known to me chiefly for an extraordinary mare's-nest of a book on the Fourth Gospel. But he has no lack either of ability or of learning; and in the present instance he is happier in many of his arguments and in his conclusion.

I think he may be said to have proved that the events connected with our Lord's condemnation by Pilate did not take place, as has been often supposed, in or near the Tower of Antonia, the massive citadel and barracks that overhung the Temple, but rather in and in front

of Herod's Palace, the outer fortifications of which still survive by the Jaffa Gate, and are the first conspicuous object that most travellers see on their approach to Jerusalem.

I am not going to involve you in the intricacies of the discussion. I will content myself with placing before you a passage that struck me (as it has evidently struck others) in reading Josephus, and I will ask you to observe how close is the parallel which it presents to the narrative of the Gospels.

Josephus is describing the events which led to the outbreak of the Jewish war. He has told how Gessius Florus, the procurator, has come to Jerusalem in a suspicious and angry mood; and he goes on:

'Now at this time Florus took up his quarters at the Palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it, when the high priest, and persons of influence, and those of the greatest eminence in the city, all came before that tribunal; upon which Florus commanded them to deliver up to him those who had reviled him, and told them that they should themselves taste of the vengeance that was their due if they did not produce the criminals; but they maintained that the mass of the people were peaceably disposed, and they begged forgiveness for those who had spoken amiss. . . . Florus was more provoked at this, and called aloud to the soldiers to plunder that which was called the Upper Market Place, and to slay such as they met with; . . . they also caught many of the quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first chastised with stripes, and then crucified. . . . What made this calamity the heavier, was this new method of Roman barbarity, for Florus ventured there to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the equestrian

order scourged before his tribunal, and nailed to the cross; who although they were by birth Jews, yet were they of Roman dignity notwithstanding[1].'

The great similarity in all the accessories leads us to infer an identity of scene[2]. The story, as it is told by Josephus, is condensed, and it might appear as though the crucifixions took place immediately before the tribunal; but that was probably not the case. There was a city gate (*Gennath*) near at hand, and we may assume that the executions took place outside this. If that were so, the course taken in our Lord's case would be much the same. The procession would wind through the same gate, and the traditional site of Calvary would be between three and four hundred yards from the place of condemnation. This would, I suppose, roughly correspond to the open space that there now is before the Turkish Barracks, part of the site being occupied by the church

[1] *B. J.* ii. 14. 8, 9.

[2] I see that Dr. Swete, on Mark xv. 16, argues in favour of the other view, that the trial was held in the Castle of Antonia, on the ground that 'the proximity of this great fortress to the Temple and its means of communication with the precinct accord with the picture presented by the Gospels, while on the other hand . . . a procession of the Sanhedrists across the city would have been at once indecorous and dangerous.' But really the Sanhedrists would have had easier access to Herod's palace than to Antonia. The stairs mentioned in Acts xxi. 35 were specially for the use of the garrison, and are not likely to have been open to the public. Besides, the council-chamber of the Sanhedrin was outside the precincts, near the bridge over the Tyropoeon, and on the direct road to the palace, through a comparatively open and aristocratic quarter; the house of Ananias the high priest (of a different family from the Annas of the Gospels) was about midway between this council-chamber and the palace (*B. J.* ii. 17. 6). The traditional house of Caiaphas would be quite near the palace; and in any case we may be sure that the house was in this quarter. On the view assumed above the localities hang nicely together. See also what is said about the Cenaculum (p. 77 inf.).

(Christ Church) and depository of the London Jews' Society. We shall lose the Via Dolorosa, the course of which has been frequently changed and which has no real authority; but we shall be able to substitute a simple and definite conception for it.

A later number (July, 1902) of the same periodical which contained the article by Kreyenbühl has a further article by Mommsen which also throws some light on the proceedings before Pilate. We must, of course, distinguish between 'the court, which is the Praetorium' (Mark xv. 16) and the 'judgement-seat' (βῆμα, John xix. 13, Matt. xxvii. 19). The first is Herod's palace, from which the crowd was excluded; the second was the official tribunal, set up in front of the palace, where Pilate gave his verdict in public.

In regard to the Pool of Bethesda I am sorry to say that I only brought back a negative conclusion. There was rather a stir some fourteen years ago caused by the opening up of a pool near the Church of St. Anne and to the north of the Temple[1]. This is just the region in which the Pool of Bethesda was to be sought, and it seems to have been located here by tradition as far back as the twelfth century. It is needless to say that such a tradition counts for little or nothing in itself; but the accounts received seemed to make the identification worth looking into. I was obliged to think that it entirely broke down. The pool is a deep reservoir cut in the rock; and although it is true that there are five heavy piers or ribs also cut in the solid rock, I cannot

[1] A full account of the discovery was given in *PEFQ.* for July, 1888.

conceive that these would ever have been called 'porches' or cloisters (στοαί). They may be seen in the photograph (Pl. XXXIX), and the reader may judge for himself.

The site that really has some substantial support in tradition is that of the so-called 'Twin Pools,' under the convent of the Sisters of Zion. These are definitely and circumstantially referred to by the Bordeaux pilgrim in the year 333 A.D., who calls them not Bethesda but Bethsaida. I shall have a word to say about this presently. His words are:—

'Interius uero ciuitati sunt piscinae gemellares, quinque porticos habentes, quae appellantur Betsaida. Ibi aegri multorum annorum sanabantur. Aquam autem habent hae piscinae in modum coccini turbatam[1].'

Jerome writes to much the same effect, though with some amplification, in 383 A.D.; and Eucherius speaks of *Bethsaida piscina gemino . . . insignis lacu*. The early tradition is therefore clear and unanimous.

I regret that I did not examine these pools; but I am afraid there is little chance that they can be the real Bethesda. They appear to be really *in* the huge ditch, 165 feet wide and 65 feet deep, which protected the north side of Antonia; so that they must have been constructed after the ditch had been partially filled up, i. e. after the destruction by Titus. Very much the same thing applies to the *Birket Isra'în*, another traditional site.

Colonel Conder suggests what is now known as the Virgin's Well, which certainly corresponds to the ancient Gihon (1 Kings i. 33; 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, xxxiii. 14). This has the advantage that it is really an intermittent

[1] *Itin. Hieros.* p. 21.

spring, the waters of which are really 'troubled' in the way described. The 'troubling' is due to mechanical causes which are fully explained by Dr. Guthe[1]. The other pools probably were not intermittent.

The Virgin's Well, however, which is at the foot of the ridge south of the Temple on its eastern side, is in the wrong part of the city, as the topographical indications of St. John v. 2 are usually interpreted. The Greek is somewhat ambiguous: R. V. has 'by the sheep [gate],' where 'gate' is supplied and not expressed in the original. There is a familiar 'sheep gate,' which is known to have been north of the Temple; but the word may have had some different signification. Many ancient authorities, in defiance of the grammar, combine 'sheep' with 'pool,' and some add that it was so called because the sheep were collected there that were to be used in sacrifice.

There is also a rather intricate if interesting question of reading. The common text 'Bethesda' has only inferior authorities in its favour. We have seen that the oldest pilgrim, with Jerome, writes 'Bethsaida.' This is also the reading of the Egyptian versions, of the Harclean Syriac, of Tertullian and of Cod. B; so that on purely external grounds it would have a strong claim, the combination of two authorities so wide apart as Tertullian and B carrying it back to a remote antiquity. On the other hand, the name may be an early corruption, and it is not otherwise verified. The oldest Western reading, found with varieties in the Old Latin and supported by ℵL, 33, Eus., is *Bethzatha* or *Bezatha*. This last is the well-known name of what was in Josephus's

[1] Art. 'Jerusalem' in Herzog-Hauck, *R.-E.* viii. 671.

day the new quarter of the city north of the Temple. It is therefore obvious that, even if not original, it must have been introduced by a very early scribe who had special acquaintance with the topography of Jerusalem.

This is baffling. We might have liked to identify the troubled pool with the Fountain of the Virgin, which is the only one of which the intermittent character can be verified; but we are, or seem to be, prevented by the locality. On the other hand, we should like to adopt the Western reading (which in this case would be quite legitimate); but we cannot prove the existence of such a pool as we require in the Bezethan quarter.

It may be taken as assured that three of the four outer walls of the Temple platform are the work of Herod, at least in their foundations and lower courses. Only on the north side has the Temple enclosure been lengthened to the extent of rather more than one-fifth, $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres out of 35. The Herodian work extends about as far as the Golden Gate. Beyond that the character of the wall changes; and the north wall of the enclosure, east of the rock occupied by the Tower of Antonia, is said to be later than the rest. The north-east portion of the enclosed area needs further exploration; but it appears probable that the greater part of it lay outside the precincts of Herod's Temple.

It is almost certain that the Temple itself occupied the highest point of the hill, a little to the west of the rock over which the so-called Mosque of Omar is built. This conclusion seems to follow from the fact, pointed out by Colonel Conder, that the buildings of the Temple proper, i.e. of the sacred portion reserved only for

Israelites, were erected on a series of terraces rising one above the other. Such a succession of terraces must have sloped downwards from the highest point of the rock, or they would have required enormous substructures to adjust them to the contours of the hill. But that the Temple should be at the highest point is only natural, and what we should expect; and in any case the expenditure of labour on substructures must have been so vast that we may be sure that it would be economized wherever it was possible.

Indeed it would seem that one of the main differences in appearance between the Temple area as it is to-day, and the Temple area as it was in the time of our Lord, turns upon this fact. Whereas now there is just one platform upon a platform, raised some twenty-five feet, in the inner reserved portion of the Herodian Temple there was first a rise of fourteen steps, then one of five[1], and then a yet further rise of twelve to the entrance of the Holy Place itself.

Except for the block formed by the Mosque *el-Aḳṣā* we must think of the whole area as crowned by buildings of a more massive type than those which we see to-day. The impression made upon the spectator who looks down from the Mount of Olives is still striking and beautiful. But its beauty consists in the lightness and grace of the structures which stand upon the upper platform, the Dome of the Rock, the not less beautiful Dome of the Chain (*Kubbet es-Silseleh*), and the minor arches and

[1] The fifteen steps leading up from the Court of the Women to the Western Gate (which we believe to be the Beautiful or Nicanor Gate) should not be reckoned, as the women's court appears to have been on a lower level.

domes scattered about the area somewhat irregularly, but in a way that is quite happy in its grouping. It is a leading characteristic of Saracenic art that it appears to be deficient in unity of design, but that the different features usually harmonize well together; and they usually succeed in conveying an impression of lightness and elegance which is not surpassed in any other style.

The total effect of the Herodian Temple must have been different from this. Lightness can hardly have been its characteristic; but it must have compensated for this by still greater magnificence and splendour. The Herodian Temple had, what we have seen that the Saracenic enclosure to some extent lacks, the impression of unity and coherence between the whole and the parts. It must have satisfied well the classic laws of proportion. And the materials used in every part of the building were such as to produce the maximum effect upon the beholder. Even now the light is reflected brilliantly from the limestone flags of the pavement. What must it have been, when upon this same marble-like pavement there were reared, first the great Royal Cloister with its four rows of columns, and on the three other sides like colonnades with two rows; and then nearly in the middle the successive tiers of building, forming the courts and holiest shrine of the Temple itself, their walls of gleaming marble, and those of the Holy Place being further enriched with golden plates and its roof of burnished gold, while gold and silver and brass were also freely used in the gates and approaches! In ancient times it was held to be one of the wonders of the world; and he who had not

seen it, felt that he had left one of the greatest of sights unseen.

I must needs speak with all modesty of the valuable model representing the Temple Hill at different periods left by the late Dr. Schick. It has doubtless enabled many a traveller to form an idea of the changes through which the hill has passed, such as he could not have formed without it, and it is not for me to offer anything really in the way of criticism. But there are one or two remarks that an outsider and an amateur may be permitted to make, and one or two facts that the student of the model will do right to bear in mind.

The exigencies of a model representing the state of things at four different periods do not allow of strict accuracy. There are some details that must needs be ignored, and many others that have to be filled in by the imagination.

(1) One rather important fact that Dr. Schick has been obliged to ignore is that the Herodian Temple occupied twice the total area of the Temple of Solomon. Josephus tells us expressly that while the breadth from east to west remained the same, the length from north to south was doubled; so that the circuit was six *stadia* instead of four.

(2) Dr. Schick is also compelled to leave out of account the facts noted by Colonel Conder as evidence that the area has been added to at its north-east corner. This corner is filled in upon the model by a rectangular cloister with towers, the existence of which in the time of Herod I imagine must be very doubtful.

(3) I do not propose to speak of Solomon's Temple, which does not come into my subject. But I may remark

in passing that I believe that a more probable reconstruction of the group of Solomon's buildings is that given by Benzinger in his *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 239, after Stade.

(4) In a previous lecture I could not help expressing some doubt as to the style in which the Temple of Herod is represented by Dr. Schick. I conceive that this must have been really more classical in its main features, though I quite understand that some of these would be too small to be reproduced in a model.

I referred to Josephus' statement that the columns of the Royal Cloister (the great cloister on the south) were of the Corinthian order. In the vaults below the Mosque *el-Aḳṣā*, near the so-called Double Gate, there is still standing a huge monolith with a capital that might be so described[1]. It seems probable that this really belonged to the Temple of Herod, and it may be taken as typical of the style employed.

The question that I find it at once most interesting and most difficult to answer is, how we are to conceive of the façade and portal of the Holy Place, which overtopped the rest of the building by some thirty cubits. This must have been of the nature of a pylon; but if so, on what model was it constructed? We are familiar with the Egyptian pylons, as well in the later (Graeco-Roman) as in the earlier periods; and we are also familiar with Greek propylaea. What relation did the Herodian structure bear to either of these[2]? I say 'Herodian' and

[1] See Fergusson in Smith, *D. B.* iii. 1461.

[2] The problem is thus concisely and comprehensively stated in a work that has appeared since the above was written: 'The Temple was divided into an oblong *cella* and a narrow building surrounding it at the sides (*yāṣūa'*) which was portioned out into small chambers

not 'Herod's,' because the Holy Place was built not by Herod but entirely by the priests; and it is very likely that they would keep as far as they could to an older tradition.

The fact that considerable use was made of cedar-wood in the roofing and panelling of the cloisters would also give an opportunity for preserving features of the older Temple that were borrowed from Phoenicia.

Generally we might describe the style of Herod's Temple as eclectic, with the predominance of a quasi-classical spirit. None the less it must have been wonderfully imposing, and the execution probably very skilful. The great stones of Herod's building are laid without mortar, but fit together so accurately that a knife could hardly be inserted between them.

(v) The last point to be noted in regard to Dr. Schick's model is that the reconstruction of the Temple Hill in the time of Justinian is extremely hypothetical. The one part of this which rests upon solid inference is the great church, dedicated to the Virgin, which takes the

(*ṣĕlā'ōth*). The *cella* in its turn consisted of two parts, the larger *hĕkāl* and the smaller *dĕbîr*, the Holy of Holies. Before the *hĕkāl* there stood in the front of the Temple the *ūlām* (in the Sept. *αἰλάμ*), i.e. an open vestibule without doors. De Vogüé conceives of the upper portion and wings of this *ailam* as a single lofty *pylon*; Perrot and Chipiez on the other hand, after the manner of the Syro-Greek tomb façades and the representations on coins of the temple of the Paphian Aphrodite, extend the wings into towerlike erections, overtopping the *ailam*. Puchstein, following a hint of Koldewey's, calls in Syrian Christian buildings, especially the façades of Qal̤b-Luzeh, Turmanîn, Rueiha, Sueideh, and would like at this particular point to start with his proof of the connexion between Christian buildings and the Temple at Jerusalem. It must, however, at once be pointed out that the *motif* of the *ailam* with flanking *pylons* is confined to Syria, and is foreign to all other early Christian architecture' (Witting, *Die Anfänge christlicher Architektur* [Strassburg, 1902], p. 48).

place of the present Mosque *el-Aḳṣā*. There is also the advantage that by introducing it into this model the Dome of the Rock can be represented at an earlier stage. But that this stage really goes back to Justinian is doubtful. That it did so has been strongly maintained, especially by Dr. Sepp. It should also be remembered that Mr. Fergusson as strongly maintained that the original Dome was erected by Constantine. But I believe that at the present time opinion inclines to take quite literally the Cufic inscription at the base of the Dome, which in its first state ascribed the building to the Khalîf 'Abd el-Melik in the year 72 of the Hejra (= 691 A.D.); a later Khalîf, el-Mâmûn, had this name erased and substituted his own. There is this amount of foundation for the Justinian theory, that in the time of 'Abd el-Melik the Arabs were wholly dependent on Christian architects and workmen, who naturally developed their design on the lines of the Byzantine architecture that they were in the habit of practising. It speaks volumes for their inventive skill that they were able to develop a new style from the old and to bring it to such rapid perfection. It should also be borne in mind that the pillars, capitals, and marbles came from Christian churches and other buildings that had been destroyed by Chosroes.

The Arabian version is that 'Abd el-Melik first built the smaller Dome; the *Ḳubbet es-Silseleh* or Dome of the Chain: and that he was so pleased with this that he went on to build the great Dome on the same model[1].

Another interesting problem which is perhaps nearly, if not quite, solved, is that as to the Golden Gate. The problem here is double, architectural and historical.

[1] Hayter Lewis, *Holy Places*, p. 64.

Architecturally the dates assigned to this gate range between the second century (Robinson) and the seventh (Baedeker and Schick). Mr. Fergusson again referred this to the time of Constantine. Professor Hayter Lewis finally decides for the time of Justinian.

The gateway is now blocked up, but (like the so-called Huldah Gate in the southern wall of the Temple platform) was originally double, the vaults of the arches resting upon columns; and the rich Corinthian capital of that upon the outer front, together with those of the massive pilasters on either side, may still be seen. The most characteristic feature is that the entablature of these pilasters is carried bodily across the double arch without any break in its mouldings. A similar feature is found in Diocletian's palace at Spalato; and a still finer example at Damascus is referred to the time of Septimius Severus (193–211 A. D.).

These parallels would seem to admit of a yet earlier date than that of Justinian; but the literary evidence goes to show that the arch in its complete state must be later than his day. The pilgrim known as Antoninus, writing about 570, speaks of the 'gate of the city which adjoins what was the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, of which the lintel and framework is still standing[1].' [This appears to be the meaning of *tabulatio*, which must be read conjecturally for *tribulatio*.] That is not the way in which a writer would speak of a work that was only just finished (Justinian died in 565). We seem to be shut up to the view of Dr. Schick, with which Baedeker practically agrees, that the gateway in its full glory was erected by Heraclius in memory of his tri-

[1] *Itin. Hieros.* p. 202.

umphal entry through it, with the true cross recovered from the Persians, in 629 A. D. The Arabian conquest in 637 prevented the work from being quite finished.

It is, however, possible that the gate as built by Heraclius may have been, in part, a restoration. I have not seen noticed a reference to the Golden Gate (*porta quae aurea vocatur*) in the apocryphal Gospel of Matthew (cap. iv), which is referred by Lipsius to the latter half of the fifth century. This Gospel describes the parentage and birth of the Virgin. Joachim and Anna have been separated for some time, when Anna is warned by an angel to go to meet her husband at the 'Golden Gate,' to which he also drives his flock. It would seem to follow (if the Gospel is really of the date supposed) that the name 'Golden or Beautiful Gate' had already come to be attached to it. This would really agree with Antoninus (*portae speciosae, quae fuit iempli*). The theory of a restoration would thus appear to be not without foundation. Sir C. Wilson has, I believe, somewhere thrown out the suggestion that one of the great building periods at Jerusalem was in the time of the Empress Eudocia (*c.* 444-460 A. D.). The first ornamentation of the gate may belong to this period or to that of Constantine.

In any case there is little doubt that the name [*porta*] *aurea* is really a corruption or misunderstanding of the Greek ὡραία [θύρα]; but whereas the original 'Beautiful Gate' had been in the interior, leading perhaps from the women's court into the Court of Israel (though many good authorities believe it to be rather the eastern gate of the women's court), the name had been transferred to a gate in the outer wall. The gate where the

lame man sat had been of course destroyed with the rest of the Temple by Titus; but the name naturally came to be given to the later gate, which best seemed to deserve the epithet 'beautiful' or 'golden.' In the middle ages another 'porta speciosa' was shown on the west side of the Temple.

There is a further very special interest in the Golden Gate, that it is through this gate, or rather through the older gate that stood on the same site, that One greater than Heraclius made an entry that we call 'triumphal.' Dr. Schick has shown convincingly[1], as I think, that the indications point to this as the gate through which it was natural for one coming over the brow of Mount Olivet to enter the Temple precincts. Dr. Sepp had contended for the Huldah Gate on the south (now concealed among the substructures of the Mosque *el-Aḳṣā*); but this would have involved both a considerable détour and a steeper ascent. In this part of its course the city wall was thrown forward a little in front of the wall of the Temple proper, so that there would be two gates to pass; and here our Lord would dismount before entering the Temple, and the procession which had hitherto accompanied Him with their shouts would break up.

The most burning question in regard to the topography of Jerusalem at the present time is no doubt that as to the Holy Sepulchre. Can we still accept the traditional site as approximately the true one? or must we transfer its associations to the site that many English people are inclined to substitute for it? This is best called the Garden Tomb, and not, as one sometimes hears, Gordon's

[1] *ZDPV.* xxii (1899), pp. 94–101.

Tomb. It is true that General Gordon identified the hill above the Tomb with Calvary; but the selection of this particular site for the Tomb has been made since his day. The plot of ground in which it is found is now in English hands; it is being laid out as a garden, and the Tomb is reverently preserved as nearly as possible in the state in which it was found.

If this were merely another example of that grasping after sacred sites which is too common in Palestine, there are many who would regret that our country, which has hitherto had clean hands in that respect, should be mixed up in it. We need not, however, regard it in this light; and it is in any case well that a tomb which presents near analogies to that in which our Lord was laid should be rescued from destruction. I am inclined myself to think that the traditional site has still the higher claim: but just because it is traditional, and because through all these centuries it has been the object of Christian devotion, it has been so transformed and overlaid with pious offerings, that it requires an effort of the imagination to realize what it was; and that effort is not helped by what the eye sees, but is rather hindered by it.

The three most recent English works dealing with Palestine, Mr. Rider Haggard's *Winter Pilgrimage*, the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes's *Morning Lands of History*, and Macmillan's *Guide to Palestine and Egypt*, all warmly advocate the new site. And at this I do not think we can be surprised. The claims of the new site are just such as appeal most directly to the eye. They are such as every one can appreciate without effort. Tradition is always a thing that is approached by different minds in

different ways. To some it has an ill name which rather prevents justice being done to it. But every one is familiar with the Scripture narrative, and every one can compare what he reads with what he sees before his eyes.

The case for the new site starts from the name Golgotha or 'place of a skull.' The argument drawn from this takes different forms. At the present moment there is a tendency, especially among tourists, to fasten upon a curious resemblance to a skull in the markings of the cliff side. There are two deep sockets that may stand for eyes, and other lines that have something of the appearance of nose and mouth. When General Gordon fixed upon the hill to the east of the Tomb as Calvary, he was not attracted by this, but rather by the general outline of the hill, which has rather the look of a bare skull. There is yet a third view which connects it with a supposed 'place of execution;' this would have led us to expect 'place of skulls' rather than of 'a skull.'

The writer in Macmillan's *Guide* seems to think that he can take advantage of all these possibilities at once. Really we must make a choice, or at least we may be sure that those who originally gave the name had in mind a single fact and not several facts.

However, it is very doubtful whether any one of the three alternatives really holds good.

In the last two numbers of the *Quarterly Statement* issued by the Palestine Exploration Fund, Sir Charles Wilson has begun a really exhaustive examination of the whole question. As a result of this, and of other researches, it must be regarded as extremely doubtful whether the Jews had any 'place of execution' at all. And if they had, this would not determine the action of the

Romans, whose practice seems to have been to set up their crosses at the first convenient place they came to.

Then as to the appearance of a skull, I was told that what does duty for the sockets of the eyes was really the result of quarrying in the face of the cliff. In any case it must be extremely doubtful whether an appearance of this kind at the present day would have been equally marked some nineteen centuries ago.

It is not even certain that Calvary was a hill at all. In the fourth century Epiphanius speaks of it as a level place. And though the Latin writers do use the diminutive *monticulus*, this would be abundantly satisfied by such an elevation as that of the traditional Calvary.

The truth is that we do not know what was the origin of the name. The Christian tradition which connects the place of the Crucifixion with the skull of the first man Adam, a tradition which will be familiar to many of us through mediaeval pictures in which a skull is seen under the cross, is strangely early. There seem to be traces of it even as far back as Origen. And there is evidence also that the Jews had curious traditions about the skull of Adam as somewhere in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The name may conceivably be in some way connected with this. I should not like to affirm that it was. The origin of local names is often difficult and even impossible to trace. But I could not in any case lay stress upon any of the other explanations given as a basis of solid argument.

The supporters of the Garden Tomb seek to strengthen their case by drawing graphic pictures of the course of events on the Resurrection morning. The best of all such descriptions, and perhaps the one that has suggested

the others, is that by the late Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in his interesting and attractive book *The Risen Master* (Cambridge, 1901). In his hands the description had no direct reference to the Garden Tomb, but was given to illustrate a particular conception of the manner of the Resurrection. Some of those who have applied similar descriptions to the support of the Garden Tomb have rather allowed their imagination to run away with them. It is true that there is a window or opening in the side of the tomb through which any one standing on the bank opposite to the entrance might *perhaps* be able to see into the tomb without actually entering. But those who adopt this explanation of the action of the disciple who outran Peter, in St. John xx. 5, forget to observe that the bank as it now exists is made ground, the result of accumulation; and that from the ancient level of the entrance to the tomb no one could have seen through the opening at all.

It is true that there is a cross, or perhaps crosses, rudely daubed on the inner wall of the tomb. But it is very doubtful whether these are really early, and it is strange that the writer in Macmillan, of all men, should lay stress on this, when he sweeps away without a qualm the whole mass of far more substantial tradition relating to the historical Holy Sepulchre.

I cannot therefore regard the arguments adduced in favour of the new site as having really any great weight. They are mere possibilities of coincidence of a vague and shadowy kind; and they are unsupported by even a particle of direct evidence.

When we turn to the traditional site there is no lack of this; the only question is as to its value. I, of course,

quite admit that if it can be definitely proved that the line of the second wall included the present Holy Sepulchre, the evidence, whatever it may be, falls to the ground. We have, however, the significant fact that Dr. Schick, who had been sceptical for the greater part of his life, towards the end of it satisfied himself that the course of the wall lay inside the existing buildings.

The Roman Catholic writer, Dr. Mommert, who also made a close examination of the subject on the spot, came to the same conclusion. And this conclusion has been embodied in all the most recent maps—in that of Baedeker's latest edition (1898), in that adopted by Buhl (1896) and Benzinger (1894), and in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1901).

There is, however, still a certain conflict of testimony, both Dr. Merrill (a good authority) and Colonel Conder arguing on the other side[1].

We must leave this important point still open; and anything that may be said further must be taken subject to this uncertainty. At the same time it is in our power to test the weight of the literary tradition; and that I propose briefly to attempt to do.

It is now agreed on all hands that there is a continuous chain of evidence, that does not admit of any break, from the time of Constantine in the year 326 to our own day. The problem is to get back behind this date.

And first, it is important to determine the exact data that Constantine had before him. It is often assumed that he had absolutely none, and that the only grounds he had to go upon in selecting the site for his great

[1] Rider Haggard, *Winter Pilgrimage*, p. 313.

church were Helena's dream and the supposed discovery of the three crosses. It is somewhat noteworthy that Eusebius, the nearest contemporary witness, makes no mention of these, but only uses vague terms implying Divine guidance, 'being moved in spirit by the Saviour Himself'; 'acting as he did under the guidance of the Divine Spirit[1].' The construction we should naturally put upon his language would be that the convincing sign was the discovery of the Tomb. It is true, however, that Cyril of Jerusalem, very little later, in the year 348 refers expressly to the finding of the Cross. We ought to be more sure of the facts before we go with some writers (e. g. Macmillan's *Guide*, p. 40) to the length of imputing deliberate fraud.

As I read Eusebius I am not so sure that he implies that there was absolutely no knowledge of the site. His language is rhetorical, and it certainly does imply the absence of any *precise* knowledge; but that the Christians of the day had not a general idea where the Tomb of the Lord was to be sought is by no means certain.

Nothing more than such a general idea was possible; because, as Eusebius tells us, the pagans had brought earth from a distance and covered over the whole site, constructing in fact such an elevated platform as they were in the habit of making for their temples, which they had then paved and built upon it a temple of Venus.

It is natural that Eusebius should regard this as due to the instigation of demons; but it does not follow that there was any intentional profanation of a site known to be held sacred. If the building of the pagan temple

[1] Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 25, 26.

dates, as it probably does, from the time of Hadrian, Roman animosity was then directed not against the Christians but against the Jews. And it is not likely that they would have known of the associations attaching to a spot that was unmarked by shrine or monument. The presence of the temple would of course prevent Christian pilgrims from visiting the site; but it is another thing to say that all memory had perished of the scenes of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection.

What sort of presumption is there that such a memory would survive? If we were to follow some of our mentors, no doubt we should say that there was none. Many writers assume that there was such a break in the history of the Church of Jerusalem that no continuous tradition was possible. For instance Mr. Hugh Price Hughes says: 'For generations after the destruction of Jerusalem, no Jew and no Christian went there[1].' And Macmillan's *Guide*, as usual, is still more emphatic:—

'All Jews and Christians were expelled from Jerusalem in A. D. 130, by the Roman Emperor Hadrian, who rebuilt the city as a heathen Roman Colony, altering its name to *Aelia Capitolina*, and changing the whole aspect of the city. For three generations, i. e. for nearly 100 years, no Christian was allowed to enter Jerusalem; and when, in the earlier part of the third century, they did come back, there was no Christian living who remembered the respective positions of the various localities of the city and suburbs[2].'

We may leave the word 'Jew' in this extract, but we must certainly strike out 'Christian.' There was no such

[1] *Morning Lands*, p. 233.
[2] *Guide to Palestine and Egypt*, p. 32 f.

yawning breach in the history of the Christian Church of Jerusalem between its first founding and the time of Constantine. During the troubles of the first Jewish war (66–70 A. D.) it fled for a time to Pella; and it no doubt underwent some dislocation and disturbance at the time of the outbreak which ended in 135 A. D. Those members of the Church who were born Jews would probably be banished with their countrymen. I say 'probably,' though it is possible that the authorities went by some such tangible mark as circumcision, in which case Christian Jews might escape.

This is the real extent of the two breaks. But we will work our way backwards from the time of Constantine, and try to estimate more exactly the presumption that a knowledge of the great Christian sites would be preserved. As a first step in this direction I had intended to collect the evidence which went to show that interest was taken in the sacred sites before Constantine. But I am spared the trouble of doing this, as it has been already done with conciseness and accuracy by Mr. C. H. Turner, in vol. i. p. 551 of the *Journal of Theological Studies*:—

'The movement by which the Church of Aelia began to see in itself the inheritor of the august traditions of the Holy City must have had its roots back in the second century. The impulse perhaps came from outside, as pilgrimages to the Holy Places grew in favour, and pilgrims expressed their veneration for the Church which had such memories in its keeping. Melito of Sardis visited the East, and "reached the Place where the Gospel was proclaimed and the Gospel history was acted out[1]." Alexander, according to the local tradition which in this

[1] Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26. 14.

point there is no reason at all to doubt, was visiting Jerusalem from Cappadocia, "for the sake of prayer and investigation of the Places[1]," when he was made coadjutor to Narcissus. Origen, before he wrote his Commentary on St. John, had "been at the Places for investigation of the footsteps of Jesus and of His disciples and of the prophets[2]." Firmilian, of Cappadocian Caesarea, interviewed Origen while on a visit to Palestine "for the purpose of the Holy Places[3]." It would seem that soon after A. D. 200 "The Places" was already a technical term in the language of pilgrimage, though it is clear that it applied to the Holy Land at large and not to the Holy City only. But one can easily understand how the consciousness of living at the centre of things would fill more and more space in the minds of the faithful of Aelia, and how, as the old controversies between Jewish and Gentile Christians faded into a forgotten past, a new generation would lay stress on the possession of the sites of the Gospel history, and therewith on the continuity of a tradition which testified to and guarded them.'

The list of pilgrims takes us back to Melito, i. e. well before the year 180, when Harnack places his death. There is a further guarantee for the continuity of tradition in the list of bishops, Jewish and Gentile, in his criticism of which I am inclined to think that Mr. Turner is rather too drastic. I must defend this opinion elsewhere. The defence turns mainly upon the discovery of the 'Chronographer of 147,' who is another important link in the chain, and upon a solution which I think I can offer for the unusual number of names[4].

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 11. 2. [2] *Comm. in Joh.* vi. 40.
[3] Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* 54.
[4] Let us suppose that the principle of selection of the early bishops was seniority, and we have a simple cause for shortness of tenure.

These are the data. I do not think that I need attempt to put a precise estimate upon them, because they are, I hope, sufficiently clear for every one to form an estimate for himself. If we are to think of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as standing on a site that is in itself possible and suitable—in other words, if it is a site that lay outside the second wall—then I think there is an appreciable probability that it would be remembered and handed down, even though it was buried. When I say 'remembered,' I mean remembered in the general sense that the successive generations of Christians would know roughly and approximately within what area the Lord's Body had lain. We can understand that if that were so, when the Temple of Venus was taken down and the earth that formed its platform removed, if the workmen came upon a tomb that at all answered to the description in the Gospels the discovery would seem very convincing. And if in an old disused rock-hewn reservoir near, there were found beams such as might conceivably have been crosses, that would seem to be striking confirmation. Under the circumstances, we must not expect that the examination would be very closely critical. But I think we may say with some confidence that the enthusiasm that was evidently felt and shown on the occasion was not without tangible grounds.

There is only one site at all comparable in importance to that of the Holy Sepulchre: and that is the site of the Cenaculum or Upper Room. I have purposely reserved this till the last, because I believe that of all the most sacred sites it is the one that has the strongest evidence in its favour. Indeed the evidence for it appears to me

so strong that, for my own part, I think that I should be prepared to give it an unqualified adhesion.

But before I come to speak of the Cenaculum, there is a larger question involved in the smaller which should be cleared out of the way. When the interest in the topography of Jerusalem began to revive, there was much lively debate as to the right application of the name 'Zion.'

The general description of Jerusalem, as it is now and as it has been for many centuries, is that it consists of two projecting tongues or ridges with a valley between them (the Tyropoeon), and joined together by a sort of yoke at the northern end. The western ridge is the broader and higher, the eastern is the narrower and lower. Now from the fourth century onwards down to the present day the western ridge has continuously borne the name of Zion. It may, however, be taken as made out to the satisfaction of the best authorities that the name rightly belongs not to the western ridge but to the eastern [1]. All through the Old Testament period and down to 1 Maccabees it is to this, and only to this, that the name was applied. But in the interval between the first century B. C. and the fourth century A. D. it was transferred from the one ridge to the other.

The most probable account of the change would appear to be as follows [2]:—Zion at first denoted the Jebusite

[1] The arguments on which this conclusion is based are conveniently summarized by Sir C. Wilson, art. 'Zion' in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*. It is, however, right to add that the theory is challenged at length in a new work by Dr. Mommert, *Topographie d. alten Jerusalem*, Leipzig, n. d. (published in January, 1903). Dr. Mommert would question both the two statements that follow.

[2] I borrow this account from Dr. Guthe, art. 'Jerusalem,' PRE[3]. viii.

stronghold, which became after its capture the 'city of David.' After the building of the Temple on the northern portion of the ridge the name was naturally extended so as to include this; and the Temple became more and more the distinguishing and central feature in the whole city. Thus from a religious point of view Zion meant especially the abode of Jehovah, the sanctuary which He had chosen to place His Name there. As a merely local designation it appears to have fallen into disuse; it is not found at all in this sense in Josephus. And in Christian times it is the religious sense which is the first to be revived: e.g. in Heb. xii. 22, 'Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.' It was natural therefore that the name should be attached to that part of the city which for Christians had the most sacred associations. There was, as we shall see, for a long time but a single church for the whole of Jerusalem, and that one enshrined many memories. This church was on the western ridge, and in the fourth century we find it described simply as 'Zion.' From being the name of the church it came to be also the name of the quarter; so that the Christian Zion was localized on the western ridge, as the Jewish had been on the eastern. With the expulsion of the Jews under Hadrian the Christian tradition obtained the upper hand, and it also passed over to the Moslem, so that it has prevailed ever since.

It should further be remembered that, on the reconstruction of the pagan city by Hadrian, it assumed a new

688. It is a pleasure to find that this judicious writer accepts the tradition as to the Cenaculum.

form which it has practically retained to the present day. As compared with the Jerusalem of the time of our Lord the city has expanded to the north, but contracted considerably on the south. It is probable that the course of the present northern wall corresponds roughly to that of the third wall built by Herod Agrippa I in 43 A.D. This wall therefore was not standing at the time of the Crucifixion, though considerable suburbs were thrown out on that side especially to the north-east. But whereas the whole of the western as well as the eastern space had been embraced within the older wall, the lower portion of this was entirely destroyed and so much of the city as lay within it wasted; and a new wall was erected, much as we now see it. It has thus happened that the traditional Cenaculum and the traditional House of Caiaphas, that once were in the midst of the most splendid and fashionable quarter of Jerusalem, now stand almost in the open and are surrounded by fields and gardens and cemeteries. It is in the near neighbourhood of the Cenaculum, a little to the north-west, that the German Emperor has recently presented a plot of ground to the German Roman Catholics, where they propose to build a church, as the Lutherans have done near the Holy Sepulchre. The block of buildings containing the Cenaculum is in the hands of the Moslems, who are uncongenial custodians. They claim to possess within the building a sanctuary of their own, the Tomb of David. The nearest of the city gates also bears the name of David (*Bâb èn-Nebi Dâûd*).

The question of the site of the Cenaculum has recently been the subject of two elaborate monographs: first, on the Protestant side, an article by the eminent Erlangen

professor, Dr. Theodor Zahn[1], *à propos* of the German Emperor's visit to Jerusalem and gift of land to the German Roman Catholics in 1898; and then, growing out of the same occasion, a monograph separately issued by the Roman Catholic Dr. Karl Mommert[2]. The agreement of these two writers is considerable, and the array of evidence produced by them imposing. I shall use it freely in what follows.

Here again, the real problem is how we are to span the interval from the time of the Apostles to that of Constantine. From the fourth century onward it may be taken that the continuity of tradition is unbroken. And here again we may utilize the indications just collected of interest in the Holy Places from Melito to Eusebius, and the proof that the history of the Church of Jerusalem was not seriously interrupted. But in addition to this, there is an interesting piece of evidence from the time of Hadrian. There is also, as I think we shall show, a stronger presumption than in the case of the Holy Sepulchre from the Apostolic age itself. And it must be borne in mind throughout that in this case we are dealing not with a site that was buried or concealed, but with one that was not only visible but in constant use by Christians.

The evidence from the time of Hadrian consists in a circumstantial statement by Epiphanius that when Hadrian came to Jerusalem,

[1] 'Die *Dormitio Sanctae Virginis* und das Haus des Johannes Markus,' in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, vol. x (1899), p. 377 ff.

[2] *Die Dormitio und das deutsche Grundstück auf dem traditionellen Zion* (Leipzig, 1899). There is also a full excursus on the subject in Diekamp, *Hippolytus von Theben* (1898), pp. 96–113.

'He found the whole city razed to the ground [after the destruction by Titus] and the Temple of God trodden under foot, with the exception of a few buildings and of the little church of God, on the site where the disciples returning after the ascension of the Saviour from Olivet, had gone up to the upper room, for there it [i. e. the little church] had been built, that is to say in the quarter of Zion; the church which had been left over from the destruction, and parts of the building on Zion itself and the seven synagogues which alone remained standing in Zion, like so many cabins [with reference to Isa. i. 8], of which one continued till the time of Maximonas the bishop and the Emperor Constantine, like a "booth in a vineyard," according to the scripture [Isa. i. 8, as above; the passage is repeatedly quoted as prophetic of the desolation of Zion][1].'

It does not appear from what source Epiphanius drew this piece of information[2], but I do not think that its historical character need be questioned. It is not the only reference to the 'seven synagogues[3].' The whole passage is a welcome glimpse of Jerusalem in its desolation; and the epithet '*little* church' is a mark of verisimilitude: there was but a little flock of Christians in those days; but there were witnesses to the Name even then.

This is the last of the stepping-stones from Constantine backwards, and a sufficiently broad and firm one. But

[1] *Weights and Measures*, c. 14 (ed. Dindorf, iv. 17).

[2] It is natural to think of the 'Chronographer of 147' or of Ariston of Pella and the Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus. Mr. F. C. Conybeare published in 1898 a certain *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, which appears to have made use of the same document as Epiphanius. Cf. *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, viii. pp. xxv–xxxiii.

[3] Cf. the Bordeaux pilgrim: 'Et septem synagogae, quae illic fuerunt, una tantum remansit, reliquae autem arantur et seminantur, sicut Isaias propheta dixit.' Cf. also Optatus, *De Schism. Donat.* iii. 2.

now what is the landing-place thrown out to meet them from the other side, the age of the Apostles? In other words, what are the Biblical data?

I do not think there is any reason to doubt that where the 'upper room' is mentioned in the Gospels and Acts it is the same upper room that is meant. Nor is it, I suppose, a very precarious step to identify this upper room as in the house of Mary, the mother of Mark. Zahn maintains the widely held opinion that the youth who left the cloth that he had hurriedly cast about him in the hands of his pursuers on the arrest of the Lord, was probably the son of the house, the later evangelist. Whenever we have obscure little incidents of this kind singled out for narration, we may be sure that there is a reason for it, and most often a personal reason. It seems to me that the combinations are quite legitimate, and only give unity and compactness to the history, if we suppose that the house of Mary and her son was the one central meeting-place of the Church of Jerusalem throughout the Apostolic age. Our latest direct evidence for it is on the occasion of the release of St. Peter in 44 A. D. But there is no reason to think that there would be any change between that date and the flight of the threatened community to Pella in the year 66.

All the presumptions that we draw from the Biblical data are confirmed by the state of things that we find on the other side of the gap. If there was but a single church, and that a little one, in the time of Hadrian, we naturally conclude that it was, as the language of Epiphanius implies, the direct descendant of the single house that appears to have done duty for a church (or at least for the principal permanent church) in the days of the Apostles. Indeed

the memory of this fact appears never to have been lost. Cyril of Jerusalem[1] in the year 348 calls the church on Zion the 'upper church of the Apostles' (ἡ ἀνωτέρα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησία)[2], where it is not quite clear whether 'upper' refers to the high ground on which the church stood, or to the fact that the services were held in an 'upper story' corresponding to the 'upper room[3].' Cyril thought it fitting that he should speak of the Holy Ghost in this church where He had descended upon the Apostles. The lady Silvia (*c.* 385 A. D.) in like manner identifies it with the scene both of the Easter appearance (John xx. 19–25) and of Pentecost, and describes the special services held there at and between Easter and Whitsuntide[4]. The Liturgy of St. James speaks of the descent of the Holy Ghost as taking place 'in the upper room of the holy and glorious Sion,' and again of the 'holy and glorious Sion, the mother of all the churches[5].' The same description is given to it by the pilgrim Theodosius in 530, who adds that it was 'the house of the evangelist St. Mark[6];' by Antiochus of St. Saba, who records the destruction of the church by the Persians in 614 and its restoration by Modestus; by Alexander Monachus, of Salamis in Cyprus, about the middle, and Hippolytus of Thebes (probably, as it would seem) about the end of the seventh century[7]. The last-named writer gives a

[1] It is a debated point whether or not the church of Zion was mentioned by the Bordeaux pilgrim: Mommert maintains the affirmative, Zahn and Diekamp the negative. I incline to the latter view.

[2] *Catech.* xvi. 4.

[3] On the one side see Diekamp, p. 97, and on the other Mommert, pp. 72, 97 ff.

[4] *Itin. Hieros.* pp. 92–94.

[5] Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. 53, 54.

[6] *Itin. Hieros.* p. 145.

[7] Mommert, p. 66; Diekamp, pp. 21, 100 f.

very full list of the events associated with this spot, but making it the house of St. John rather than of St. Mark; and it would seem that the house of St. John may have been really not far away; from whence came the tradition that the Virgin Mary 'fell asleep' here[1]. Arculf, the Frankish bishop who made his way here in 685[2], left with his host Adamnan at Iona a plan drawn on a wax-tablet, and duly reproduced in Adamnan's account of his pilgrimage, and to be seen still in photographic facsimile from a MS. of the ninth century[3].

It is really remarkable to see what I believe to be a perfectly valid tradition preserved thus clearly and consciously throughout the centuries. It is the strength of a cord made up of many strands. The meeting-place of a whole church would not be likely to be forgotten. Though many even of its members were slain or dispersed, 'a remnant' to continue the tradition would always remain.

This is the great advantage that the site of the Upper Room possesses over the site of the Holy Sepulchre. As I have said, it was not only all the time visible but also continuously in use, or so nearly continuously as not to make a real break in the chain.

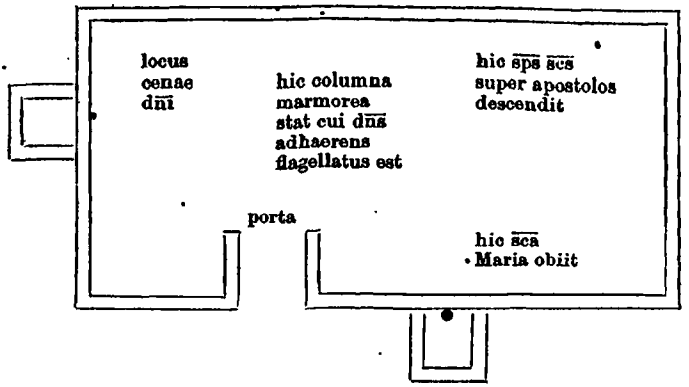
One or two points still remain open. Perhaps the most considerable is that as to the orientation of Arculf's

[1] There is a double tradition as to the death of the Virgin: it was placed, as we see, in or near the Cenaculum; but, from the fifth century onwards, it was also placed where the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin now stands, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. On these traditions see Mommert, pp. 60–94.

[2] For the date see E. W. Brooks in the *Eng. Hist. Review* (1896), p. 95 f., referred to by Diekamp, p. 101 n.

[3] *Itin. Hieros.* p. 244.

plan as represented by Adamnan. The plan is something of this kind.



Are we to suppose ourselves looking north, as with a modern plan? Mommert (p. 86 ff.) thinks that we are, arguing that pilgrims as a rule came up from the S. or SE., by steps leading up from the Pool of Siloam. Zahn (*NkZ.* x. 382) thinks that the plan should be turned round, arguing that the great procession, or processions, at Whitsuntide [and Easter] [1] came from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the north. I should perhaps have been inclined to side with this view on another ground, viz. that the present approach and entrance are from the north, and that in such matters usage is apt to be conservative. There is, however, one little detail which appears to turn the scale in favour of Dr. Mommert. It will have been observed that there are two curious little square excrescences in the plan. These no doubt represent two more objects of traditional veneration, not included in the church: that on the left side *petra super quam stetit dominus Iesus religatus ad columnam*, and

[1] *S. Silviae Peregr., ut sup.*

that at the bottom *petra marmorea super quam lapidatus prothomartyr S. Stephanus*[1]. Now we are expressly told by Adamnan (§ 18) that the first of these was *ad occidentalem partem*. This seems decisive; and it agrees with the fact that the other two plans (of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives) have the same orientation.

I see that Dr. Mommert (p. 94) speaks of the church restored by Modestus as 'of very small dimensions.' This, however, conflicts directly both with the *Breviarius*, which describes it *s basilica magna nimis* (*Itin. Hieros.* p. 154), and with Adamnan, who calls it *pregrandis*. So that the conclusions built upon the other assumption would fall to the ground.

The church, as reconstructed by the Franciscans in 1333 (this order was allowed to remain in the Holy Land after the last Crusade), was a large church, and they gave the 'Upper Room' its present form. The Moslems succeeded in dispossessing them in 1547.

About a stone's-throw from the Cenaculum is the so-called House of Caiaphas. The traces of this tradition go back to the Bordeaux pilgrim, the *Breviarius*, and Theodosius (*Itin. Hieros.* pp. 22, 141, 155), who form a good chain from 333 onwards. Early as this evidence is, it would not carry with it the same guarantees as that for the Cenaculum. If there were no primitive tradition as to the site, one would soon be invented. But in any case the guess is probably not far wrong. The house of another high priest, Ananias son of Nebedaeus[2], the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice, the Xystus, and the Hippodrome were all in this quarter, which was also the

[1] Mommert, p. 91 (after Bede). [2] *Ant.* xx. 5. 2; *B. J.* ii. 17. 6.

chosen site of the great palace of Herod. There was, moreover, direct and easy access to the council-chamber of the Sanhedrin. Probably the whole quarter was more open and stately than the crowded alleys of the Lower City or the space occupied by the trades within the second wall. So that a wealthy and important family like that of Annas and Caiaphas would be quite likely to take up its abode here.

To sum up our results. I cannot feel sure of Bethesda, either as to the exact form of the name or as to the locality. But I have considerable confidence as to the place of our Lord's trial and condemnation. I think that there is still a certain balance of probability in favour of the traditional sites of Golgotha and of the Holy Sepulchre, and a yet higher degree of probability in favour of the traditional Cenaculum. And these are the two sites in regard to which any kind of assurance is most welcome.

NOTES ON PLATES XXXVII—L

Plate XXXVIII. It is right to say that Dr. Schick identified the tower in the right of the picture, not with Hippicus but with Phasael. I have not seen his arguments; but we know that Hippicus formed the north-west angle of the old city, and the *terrain* does not seem suitable for another tower further to the west. The tower on the left seems to be, even in its lower courses, later than the time of Herod.

Plate XLII. It is probable that these substructures are not the actual work of Herod or his predecessors, but a later imitation of it, built up largely of old material.

Plate XLVI. It will be seen that the entrance to the Tomb has been made good with modern masonry. The trough in

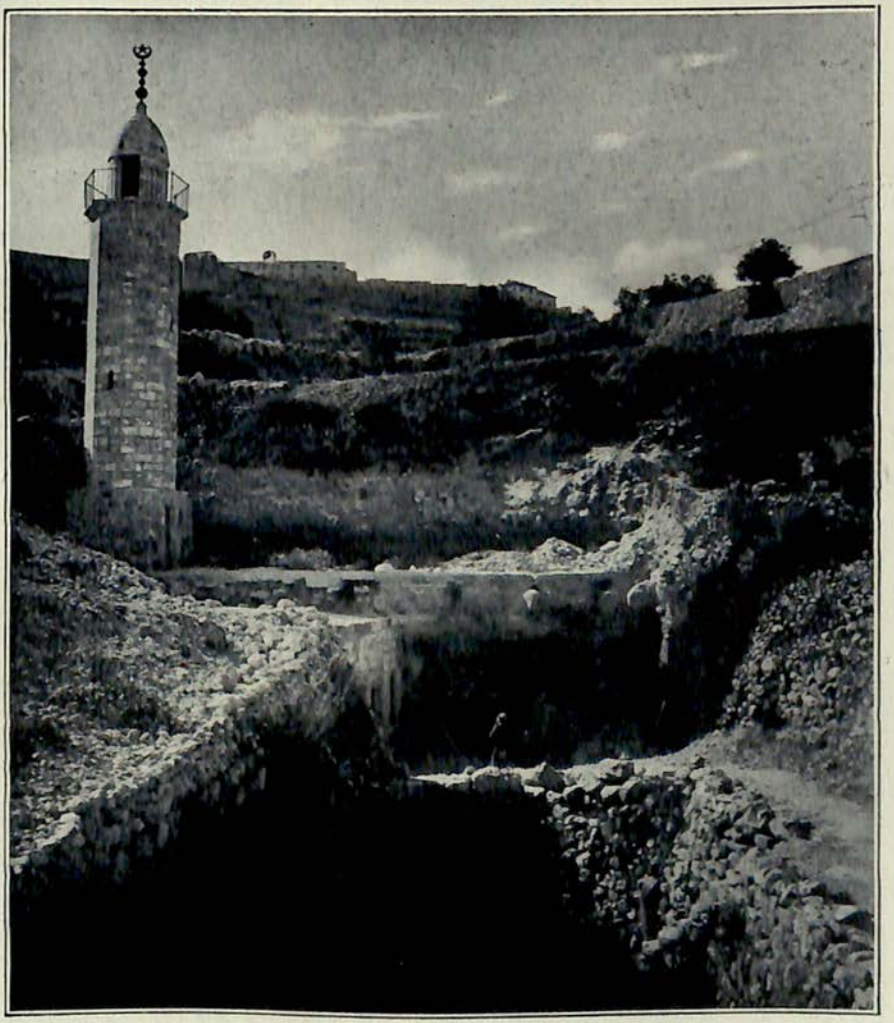
PLATE XXXVII.

JERUSALEM: SITE OF HEROD'S PALACE (S.W. ANGLE).

HEROD'S PALACE: TOWER HIPPICUS (LOWER COURSES PROBABLY HERODIAN).

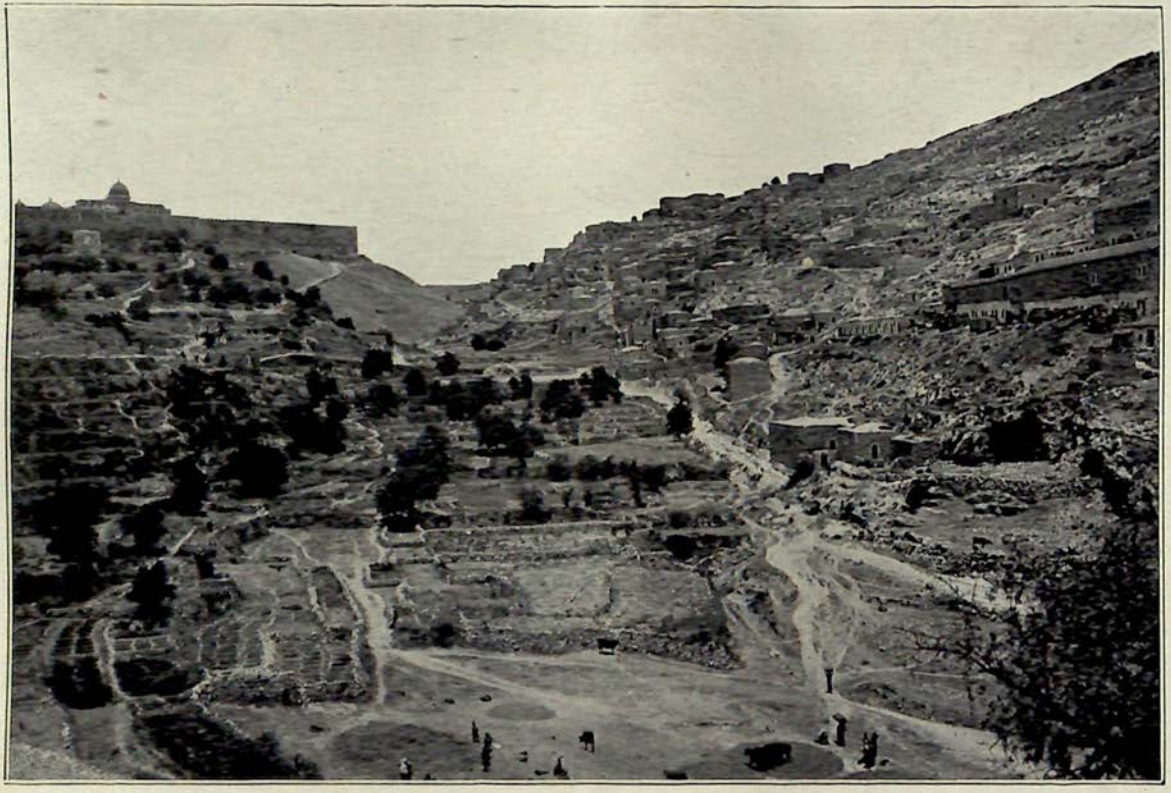
SO-CALLED POOL OF BETHESDA.

PLATE XL.

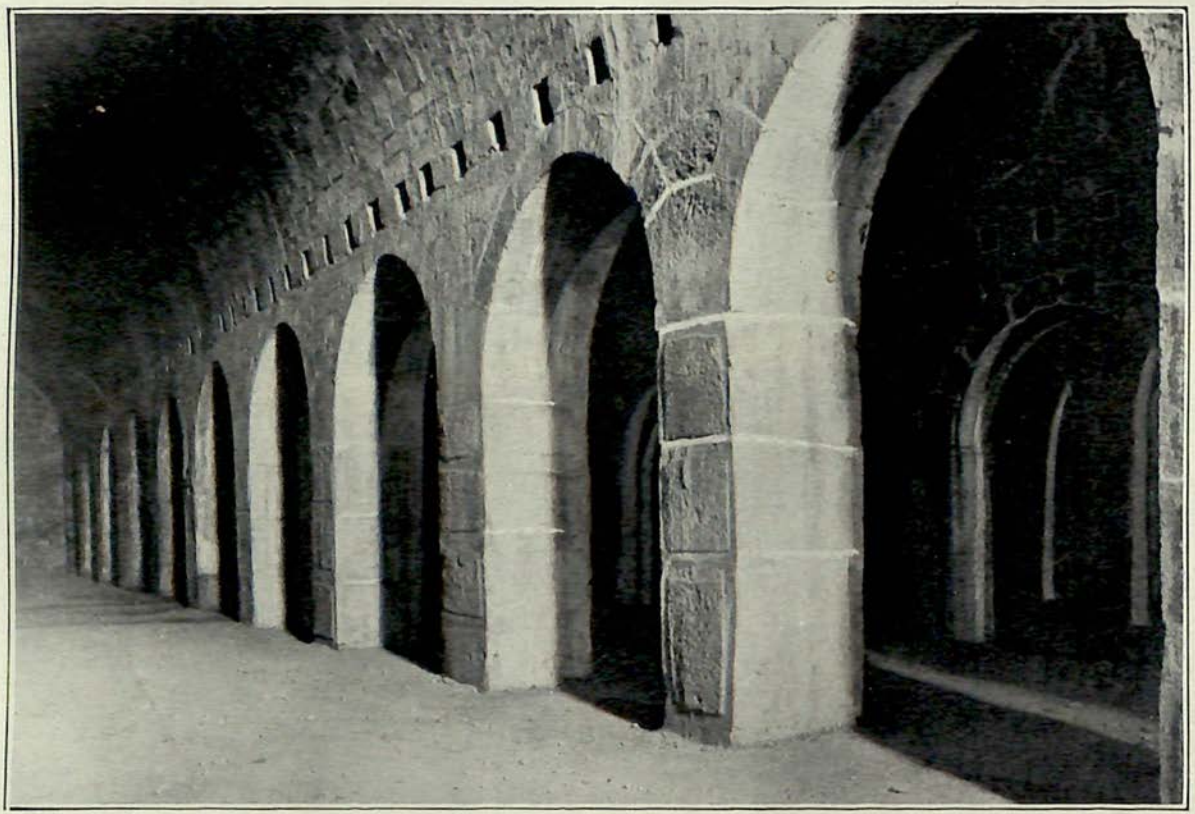


POOL OF SILOAM.

PLATE XLI.



KIDRON VALLEY: S. WALL OF TEMPLE: VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN (IN THE BEND).



SUBSTRUCTURES OF THE TEMPLE ('SOLOMON'S STABLES').

THE GOLDEN GATE.

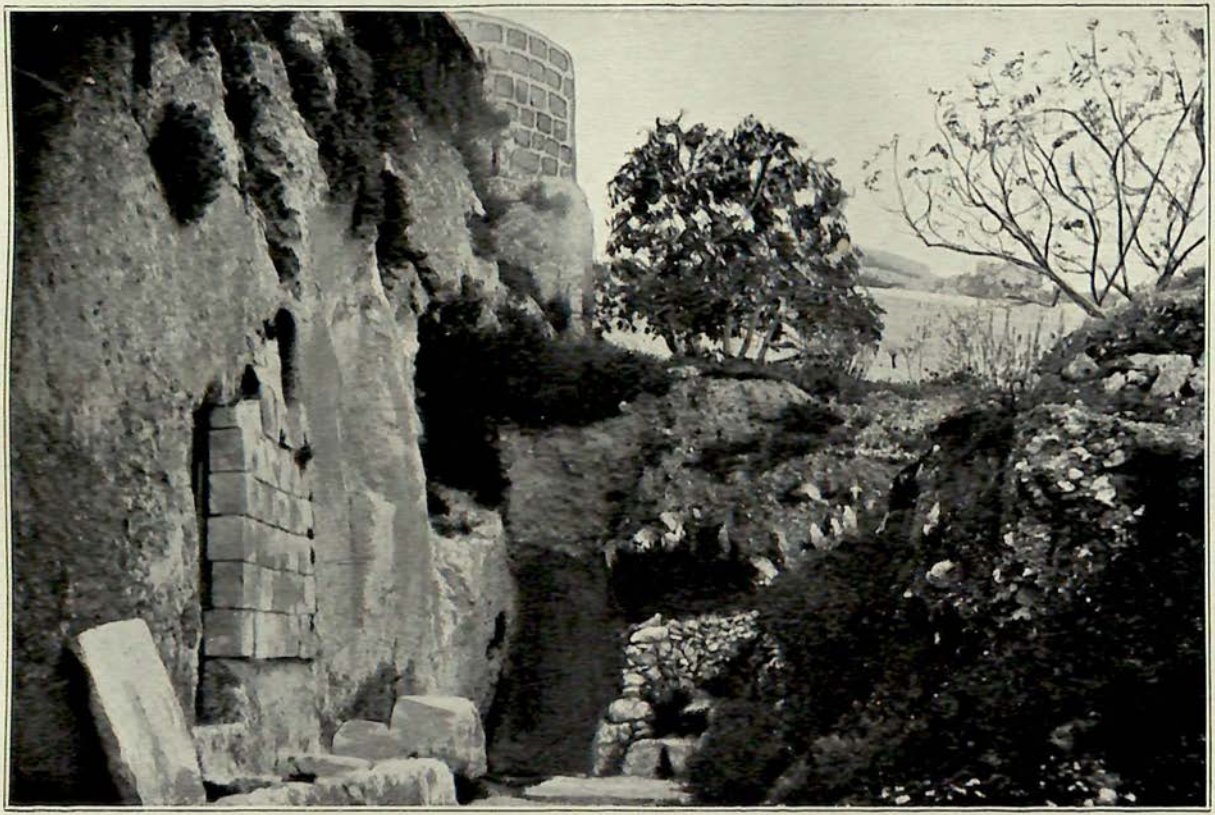
PLATE XLIV.

VIEW FROM GORDON'S CALVARY.

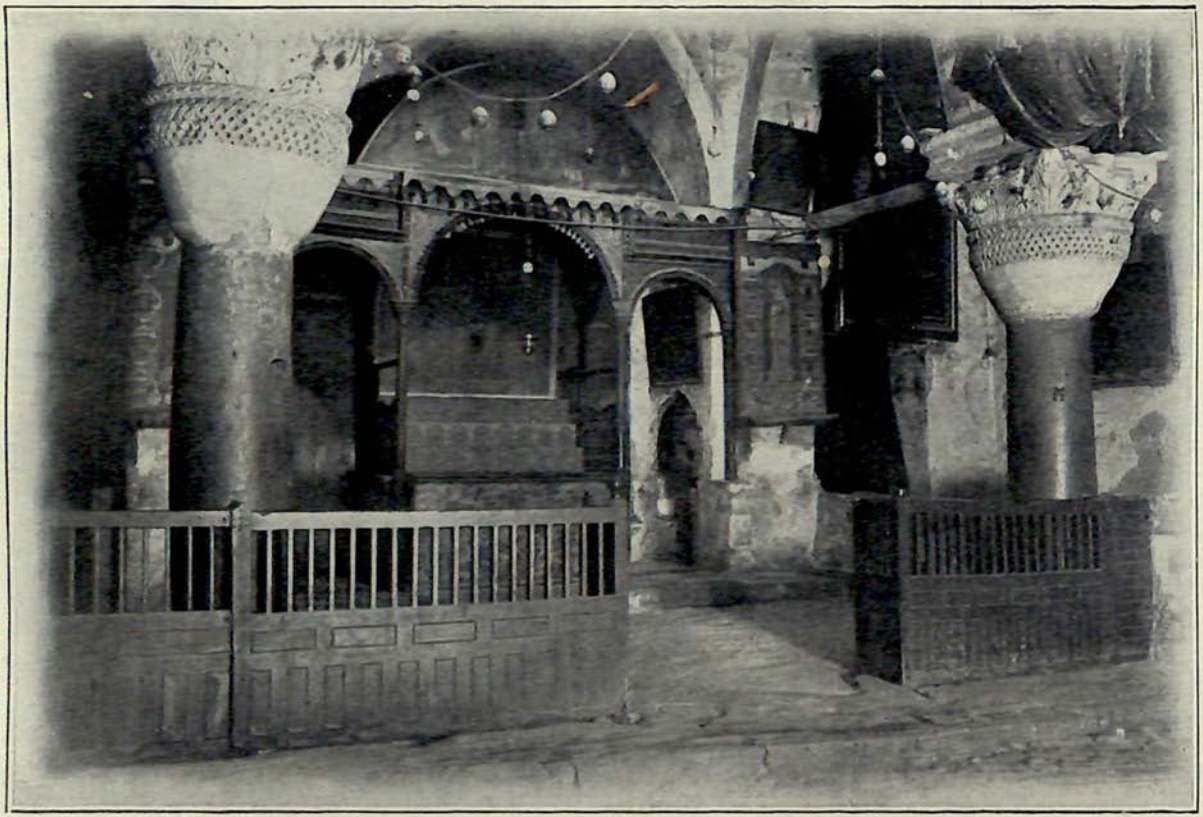
PLATE XLV.

GORDON'S CALVARY.

PLATE XLVI.



THE GARDEN TOMB.

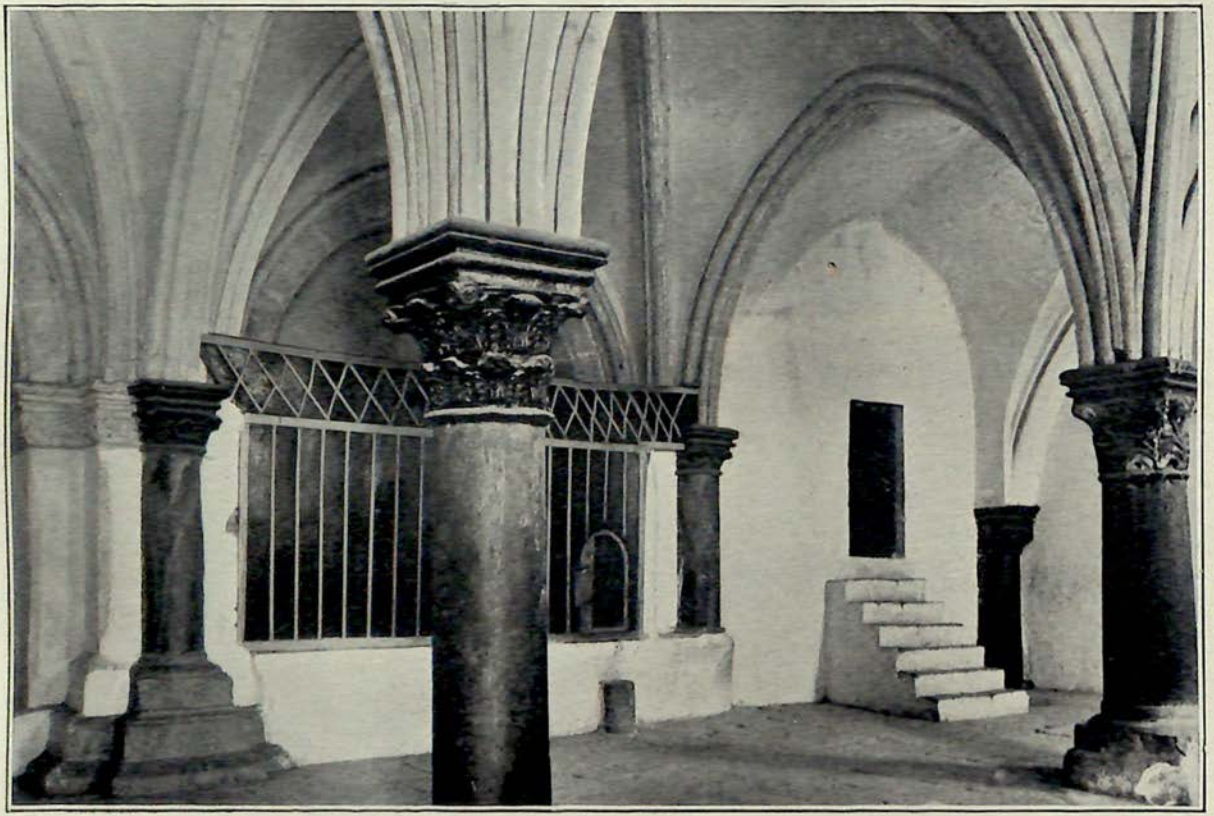


ST. HELENA'S CHAPEL.

PLATE XLVIII.

SO-CALLED ZION SUBURB.

SO-CALLED TOMB OF DAVID: THE CENACULUM.



INTERIOR OF THE CENACULUM.

front is that in which the stone was rolled before the entrance. The photograph will illustrate the statements made in the text (p. 71).

Plate L. It will be remembered that the architecture of the Cenaculum dates from the fourteenth century (1333 A.D.). The room itself is an upper story just to the right of the Dome in Pl. XLIX.

IV

SOME RECENT LITERATURE

THE stream of literature on Palestine is always running, and just of late it has been running in specially ample volume. Some of the works that have appeared are of considerable importance, and by taking a rapid survey of this literature we shall serve the double purpose, at once of bringing our investigation up to the latest possible date, and of defining our conclusions rather more closely by the combined method of agreement and difference.

We will work our way backwards, beginning with the publications that are most recent. At this Christmas season two reach me from Germany that would in any case command peculiar attention—the first by one of the foremost authorities on Palestine at the present time, and the second by a veteran in the study than whom none was more prominent thirty years ago. Prof. Guthe of Leipzig has just brought out a concise *Bible Dictionary*, to which he has himself contributed the topographical articles; and Prof. Konrad Furrer has an article in the current number of the *Zeitschrift für die Neutest. Wissenschaft* on the geographical allusions in the Gospel of St. John. Dr. Guthe's new *Bible Dictionary* is astonishingly compact and convenient. The system of abbreviations is indeed somewhat severe, especially for other than German readers; and it may at first sight seem to offer less than it does. For instance, under Bethesda, we are told only that it is 'a pool in Jerusalem Jn. v. 2'; but

a full, or at least quite sufficient, account of this and the other pools is given under 'Jerusalem.' The style of treatment is admirably terse and direct, and the selection of points is excellent. It would probably not be possible to give a greater amount of trustworthy information in the same compass.

It is a satisfaction to me to find that on the most important points discussed in the preceding lectures Dr. Guthe, and so far as he goes also Dr. Furrer, endorse the conclusions arrived at. Both are agreed in identifying the Praetorium with Herod's palace; both are in favour of the traditional site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre; and Dr. Guthe accepts without reserve the site of the Cenaculum.

On several smaller points there is the same *consensus*. Both writers postulate but one Bethsaida. Both appear to adopt the common view as to Jacob's Well and Sychar. I note however that whereas both writers speak of the scarcity of water on the side of Mount Ebal as compared with its abundance on that of Gerizim, neither mentions the fact that there is a spring at *'Askar* itself. Both explain the origin of Jacob's Well as having been sunk by some one who was refused access to the springs in the neighbourhood. Both take the negative side as against those who would identify Aenon and Salim with the two places of like name in this vicinity. Dr. Guthe would go further, and approves the identification with the site visited by the pilgrim Sylvia. Dr. Furrer has a view of his own which shall be mentioned presently.

To set against this agreement there are three points on which Dr. Guthe gives his vote otherwise than I had done, though in each case recognizing the alternative—

in regard to Capernaum, Emmaus, and the country of the Gerasenes.

In regard to Capernaum I was aware that he was inclined to prefer the site of *Tell Ḥûm*; and I could myself only sum up doubtfully. Dr. Guthe however agrees in placing the Fountain of Capernaum at *'Ain et-Ṭâbigha*; and it is natural to ask whether it must not be straining a point to give this fountain the name of Capernaum at a distance of three kilometers. This seems to me still to be the turning-point in the decision, though I admit that there are arguments which tell the other way. [Compare what is said as to the break in Christian tradition, below, p. 102.]

As to Emmaus Dr. Guthe hardly does more than state the two solutions, *Ḳalôniyeh* and *el-Ḳubêbeh*, side by side. But he strengthens the case for the latter slightly by pointing out that the Crusaders in 1099 found the name *Castellum Emmaus* already existing, and that their church cut the foundations of an older building probably Byzantine. It is however difficult in any case to lay stress on this, because the yet older tradition of the fourth century definitely identified St. Luke's Emmaus with Emmaus Nicopolis. The arguments for *Ḳalôniyeh* would thus remain in full force.

As to the country of the Gerasenes and the modern *Kersa* I cannot in the least give way. Here again Dr. Guthe does but continue the tradition of his late colleague Prof. Socin in expressing a certain amount of doubt. He observes that Schumacher gives the name as *Kursi*. But that writer is quite express in giving both names, *Kersa* and *Kursi*; and for the former we have the emphatic testimony of Dr. Thomson. Then, as to the readings,

Dr. Guthe will forgive me for saying that he is quite at sea. He dismisses summarily 'Gerasenes' in St. Mark and St. Luke, where the evidence for it is exceedingly strong, being a combination of the two oldest families. I shall be curious to see how Prof. von Soden deals with these readings, as in spite of the revolution which he promises it is hard to see how he can here at least go against his predecessors [1].

Textual criticism is not the strong point of either of the two writers of whom I have been speaking. Dr. Furrer begins his account of the Pool of Bethesda by saying quite naïvely that he does not intend to follow the best MSS., because he thinks that the inferior ones suit the local indications better. The principal interest of his article lies in his adoption of two or three identifications that are either new or hitherto but little supported. He would place Bethesda at the *Ḥammâm esh-Shifâ*, which is near the 'Gate of the Cotton Merchants,' the usual entrance about the middle of the west side of the Temple area. There is a pool here with pillars and masonry, some sixty-six feet below the present surface, which is still supposed to possess healing properties. Dr. Furrer compares this with the water [2] of Gihon (the Virgin's

[1] It is with real regret that I find myself also in opposition to Dr. Zahn, who in the December number of the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* defends with great wealth of detailed argument the Origenian reading Γεργεσηνῶν, and, mainly in order to bring the scene of the miracle within the district of Gadara, localizes it near *es-Samra* in the SE. corner of the lake. I hope that I may some day discuss this argument on a more adequate scale elsewhere; but I am afraid that even here I have the feeling that the textual criticism is rather constructed *ad hoc* than based upon broad objective principles. I also greatly doubt whether the topographical conditions are really satisfied.

[2] As to the water there is an ominous note in Baedeker (p. 55).

Fountain) and thinks that it may have been one of the arms of the intermittent source underneath the Temple. This is really the attractive factor in the theory; but even so, much is conjecture, and I am afraid that the whole rests on a very slight basis of evidence, besides the question of reading.

Dr. Furrer suggests[1] for 'Bethany beyond Jordan' the site of certain ruins called *Betâne* (=*Baṭneh* in Baedeker's map of Peraea), in the *Wâdy Abu Muhair* about an hour SW. from *es-Salṭ*. This appears to be rightly identified with Betonim in the territory of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26). Eusebius writes the name Βοτνία ἡ καὶ Ποτεεὶν (Lagarde), and in a later list (Hierocles, &c., ed. Parthey, p. 92) it appears as Βατάνεως. Dr. Furrer remarks:—

'No one can object to the equation *Betonim—Betâne*; on the other hand Βηθανία with a different *t*-sound seems further removed. But, when the vernacular transmutes place-names into another idiom, we ought not to expect strict regularity, but should be prepared to find resemblances of sound with other well-known place-names play a considerable part. . . . Greek-speaking Christians might transmute the name into *Bethania* with an echo of the Judaean *Bethania*.'

Aenon Dr. Furrer would locate at *'Ain-Fâra* (the *Wâdy Fâra* in which this lies must not be confused with *Wâdy el-Far'a* in Samaria), about two hours NNE. of Jerusalem. The gorge from which these springs break forth is said to be called higher up *Wâdy Selâm* or *Senâm*.

'The water is bad, being rain-water which has percolated through impure earth, but it is still extolled for its sanatory properties.'

[1] The same suggestion also appears in that mine of learning, Dr. Zahn's *Einleitung in d. N. T.* ii. 561.

This last suggestion is I believe new, and may be worth consideration.

Coming as he does from Zürich, the home of Prof. Schmiedel, we are not surprised to find that Dr. Furrer regards the Fourth Gospel as a work of the second century. Under the circumstances it shows moderation on his part that he makes use of the form 'Sea of Tiberias' in xxi. 1 as proof that the last chapter only is a supplement to the Gospel added later than the rest (vi. 1 is got rid of by an emendation of the text). It is however laid down that the form 'Sea of Gennesar or Gennesaritis' is characteristic of the first century, being found in Strabo, Pliny, and Josephus, while 'Sea of Tiberias' became the official designation from the second century onwards, being found throughout in the Jerusalem Talmud. Considering how conservative Jewish usage was, and how much old material is preserved in the Talmud, the conclusion (which is not indeed expressed with any stringency) seems precarious.

Another argument employed directly in proof of second-century origin is that Bethsaida in xii. 21 is described as 'Bethsaida of Galilee.' The point there is that for Josephus, Galilee ended with the right bank of the Jordan, while Claudius Ptolemaeus in the second century, with Eusebius and Jerome, reckons Bethsaida Julias as belonging to Galilee.

For a sufficient answer to this argument we have only to turn to Dr. Guthe, who points out that Gamala, E. of the lake, is twice described by Josephus as in Galilee.

Taken as a whole, the tendency of Dr. Furrer's article is not at all in favour of assigning the Gospel to the second century. He repeatedly calls attention to the

accuracy and clearness of its topographical statements. One passage in particular I should like to quote as bearing upon this point. Explaining that ἐν τῷ γαζοφυλακίῳ (John viii. 20) does not mean actually in the treasure chamber but in the colonnade between it and the open court, Dr. Furrer adds:

'The Evangelist was aware that the hot sun of Jerusalem does not allow an audience to listen to a teacher directly exposed to its rays. Just as little could Jesus have spoken on December 25th in the open air, because He would most likely have been hindered by pouring rain or falling snow. Therefore He preached at the Feast of the Dedication in Solomon's Porch. This porch must have been specially frequented for religious discussions, cf. Acts iii. 11, v. 12,' &c.

We have to remember that if the Gospel had been really written in the second century, both Solomon's Porch and the Treasury would have been swept away since the year 70; and if we need not suppose that the site of either was exactly forgotten, it is yet not probable that the local conditions would have been so present to the mind of a writer far removed from the spot as to cause him to reproduce them with so much fidelity.

Side by side with these German works special mention should be made of the series of articles by Sir Charles Wilson on 'Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre' which have been coming out in the *Quarterly Statement* during the year. When this series is finished it will no doubt constitute the classical monograph on the subject. Sir Charles writes judicially, but brings out much that really favours the traditional site[1]. We note that both the

[1] I submit, with all deference, that the last sentence of the April article (1903) goes somewhat beyond the evidence on the other side.

German writers of whom I have been speaking (Guthe, s. v. 'Jerusalem,' p. 308 f., and Furrer in *Z. ntl. Wiss.*, p. 265) definitely associate the name Golgotha with the legend about the skull of Adam.

Late in the autumn of 1902 there appeared a little book by Prof. W. M. Ramsay of Aberdeen called *The Education of Christ*. Many readers will be grateful for this book in more aspects than one. The writer's religious convictions come out in it more clearly than they had ever done before; and they are summed up thus:

'The conclusion to which all our lines of thought point is that the belief in a Divine Will ruling in and directing the evolution of history logically and inevitably involves the belief that the historical Jesus is the eternal Christ' (p. 128).

But the more immediate object of the book is that implied in the title. It seeks to describe the 'Education of Christ' especially with reference to the physical influences of nature, 'the outward shows of earth and sky.' The sub-title, '*Hillside Reveries*,' indicates the fact that the volume, which originally took the form of lectures, grew out of impressions received by the author in a visit to Palestine.

This may suggest one remark—I will not call it a criticism—arising out of the main topic.

I believe that Dr. Ramsay in the main is right. Our Lord Jesus Christ was full and true Man; and what may be predicated of a full and true humanity may be predicated of Him. This would include impressions derived from external nature.

Still He was not only the 'historical Jesus,' but also the 'eternal Christ.' And our sense of this latter aspect

comes in to qualify what we infer as to the former. We hesitate to think of Him as dependent on external impressions quite in the same degree and kind as we are. We feel it better to exercise a certain reserve, and not at once to transfer to Him all of which we are conscious in ourselves. We desiderate evidence like that supplied by such passages as 'Consider the lilies of the field.' There is there a real analogy to the poetic emotion of Tennyson's 'Flower in the crannied wall.' But when we think of 'moulding and shaping influences' we cannot but remember that these are not all of one kind.

> The wind, the tempest roaring high,
> The tumult of a tropic sky,
> Might well be dangerous food
> For him, a youth to whom was given
> So much of earth—so much of heaven,
> And such impetuous blood.
>
> Whatever in those climes he found
> Irregular in sight or sound
> Did to his mind impart
> A kindred impulse, seemed allied
> To his own powers, and justified
> The workings of his heart.

We cannot associate the Lord Jesus Christ with such contexts as that. And when we compare 'Consider the lilies' with 'Flower in the crannied wall' there is brought home to us the difference, that whereas the one gives utterance to a far-off, unattainable dream or wish—

> Little flower—but *if* I could understand
> What you are, root and all, and all in all,
> I should know what God and man is—

the other is the expression of perfect insight and knowledge; it is not an aspiration after a glimpse of God's working in nature, but a clear unclouded vision of that working.

Perhaps one would wish for a little more allowance for this difference, a little more safeguarding of the main thesis, a little more reserve in transferring to our Lord what might be the consciousness of any one of ourselves, a rather more explicit limitation to data supplied directly by the Gospel.

I hardly like to say even as much as this; I so thoroughly appreciate in these 'hillside reveries' the broad strong grasp, the sincerity and freshness of apprehension which distinguish all Prof. Ramsay's writings, and in this instance the special seriousness and earnestness which lifts his thought to a yet higher plane. It is like him to seize at once on what is really the most characteristic feature in the landscape of Palestine. The introductory chapter is headed, 'On the Power of the Great Plains'; but this is only a prologue to the main argument, intended to illustrate the power of landscape in the abstract—the plains of Palestine, even Esdraelon or Sharon are not 'great' in the same sense. The next chapter, 'On a Mountain-top,' goes to the mark more directly. The peculiar long backbone, or central ridge lifted up, most of it, from fifteen hundred to three thousand feet above the sea, throws out frequent side-glances on the one hand to the Mediterranean and on the other to the yet deeper trench of the Jordan; it is this succession of 'Pisgah views' that puts its stamp upon the landscape of Palestine, and this also—Dr. Ramsay would say, and I think rightly say—that has left a special mark upon the life of our Lord.

'As one reads the biography of Jesus, one cannot fail to be struck with the effect that seems to have been exercised on His mind and nature by the wide prospect

from a lofty elevation. Try to cut out the mountain scenes from His life. How much poorer would the Gospels be[1].'

And again, of the Third Temptation:

'Only the dullest and most witless of critics will make the objection that it is impossible to see all the kingdoms of the world from any mountain. The man whose temptation came in this form was one to whom the wide prospect of a great stretch of country was inspiring and creative, revealing far more than the eye beholds, lifting the mind on the wings of imagination to a far-reaching outlook over history and time, and suggesting a vision of the authority and glory of a world-wide empire[2].'

There is a just criticism of Renan's comments upon the view of Jerusalem:

'The Jesus whom Renan pictured to himself and set before his readers had a positive dislike for that *city of pedantry, acrimony, quarrels and littleness of mind*, set in its parched and dreary landscape; but the Jesus of history and reality could not look at it or think of it without an outbreak of love and despair: *How often would I have gathered thy children together*, &c.[3]'

This is both truly and finely said; it hits a one-sidedness which is present in other writers besides Renan. In speaking of this writer, however, we must do him the justice to acknowledge that on one point he has a—rather accidental—advantage over Prof. Ramsay. The latter, naturally and rightly, enlarges upon the impression of the wonderful view from the edge of the hills of Nazareth, looking over the plain towards Megiddo and Carmel. But he does not seem to be aware,

[1] *The Education of Christ*, p. 37 f. [2] Ibid. p. 35 f.
[3] Ibid. p. 81 f.

as Renan was aware[1], of the other even more striking and significant prospect from the hill *above and at the back of* Nazareth, which has the advantage of looking not only to the front but to the rear, and so commands at once the Plain of Esdraelon and the sweep of Northern Galilee, ending in Antilibanus and Hermon. I do not think that my experience includes a view so *speaking* as this; one in which so great an extent of country lay spread out in such clear articulation. And the associations, if less concentrated than at *Khân Minyeh*, are more far-reaching. There is no spot in Palestine that so suggests a Gospel cradled among the quiet hills, but carried out from thence over the habitable world.

One allusion of Dr. Ramsay's awakens our curiosity. He remarks (Preface, p. ix), that although for brevity he has 'spoken of Nain as if it were on the site of the modern village at the foot of the hill, yet there can be little doubt that the ancient city was on the top.' Dr. Ramsay is a most experienced explorer, and is certainly not speaking at random. He tells us elsewhere (p. 45) that he spent 'a long Sunday afternoon' on the slopes of the hill in question, so that he has examined the ground for himself, and the view put forward would seem to be a novelty.

An interesting point is brought out by Prof. Harnack in his new book on the *Mission and Extension of Christianity in the First Three Centuries;* viz. that the Jews were so strong in the very birthplace of Christianity that they would not tolerate a Christian among them. This is vouched for by Epiphanius, who mentions

[1] See the well-known passage, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 29 ff.

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expressly not only Tiberias and Sepphoris but Nazareth and Capernaum; there had been no Christian church in either place before the time of Constantine[1]. In this region we must not look for continuity, and it is not therefore surprising if the tradition (e.g. as to the Miraculous Feeding) is not of much value.

Enough will have been said about what may be called the recent 'tourist' literature. But I should like in passing to pay a word of tribute to Mr. Rider Haggard's *Winter Pilgrimage*. Mr. Haggard is not only a clear-sighted observer, but he shows a laudable caution in pronouncing on the identification of localities. Compared with this book the late Mr. Hugh Price Hughes' *Morning Lands* is thin and superficial. But the most valuable recent work of travel is, there can be little doubt, the richly illustrated volume by Messrs. Fulleylove and Kelman (*The Holy Land*: London, 1902). The (coloured) pictures and the descriptions are both up to a high level. Mr. Kelman had the advantage of travelling in the company of Prof. G. Adam Smith, and he was long enough in Palestine to obtain a considerable insight into the character of both the land and the people. Mr. Kelman writes like an apt pupil of the author of the *Historical Geography*; and it happens that the headings of his chapters follow much the same analytical lines as the first of these lectures, but with much greater fullness of presentation. For the particular purpose that I have had before me his opinions are of less importance; if he goes farther than I can do in speaking of the identity of Capernaum with *Khân Minyeh* as 'almost certain' (p. 124), on the other hand he has a leaning towards the 'Garden

[1] Harnack, *Die Mission*, &c., p. 21; Epiph. *Haer.* xxx. 11.

Tomb,' which the photographs in this book may show to be quite intelligible, though I cannot think it really well founded.

Mr. Kelman claims to have tried to write 'with his eye on the object'; and so far as my own knowledge goes I should endorse the claim. I am glad to see that he endeavours to balance the two sides of his picture. The impression may be partly due to the fact that we were travelling in the early spring, the best and freshest time of the year, still I have the impression that more than one recent estimate of country and people is too depreciatory. I should say this with some confidence of the following summary verdict by Prof. H. von Soden:—

'The general impression of the land is that of a dreary desolation. Apart from the east of Jordan and the Plain of Jezreel, with its wheat-growing, only quite small districts have any real tillage. The rest lies almost entirely waste and uncultivated. The impression left by the population is like the picture of the land: that of idleness, decadence, want of energy. They only grow what they want themselves, and prefer to live by their flocks and herds[1].'

Even Prof. Ramsay on p. 78 of his book above quoted, while every sentence is no doubt true of parts, seems to me rather too unqualified.

All round Bethlehem there is surely abundance of excellent cultivation. I should have said the same of the Plain of Makhna and the Nâblus valley. On the way up country from Jerusalem to Nazareth we saw many signs of life; there seemed to be quite a fair amount of traffic, strings of laden camels, horses and donkeys

[1] *Palästina u. seine Geschichte*, p. 106.

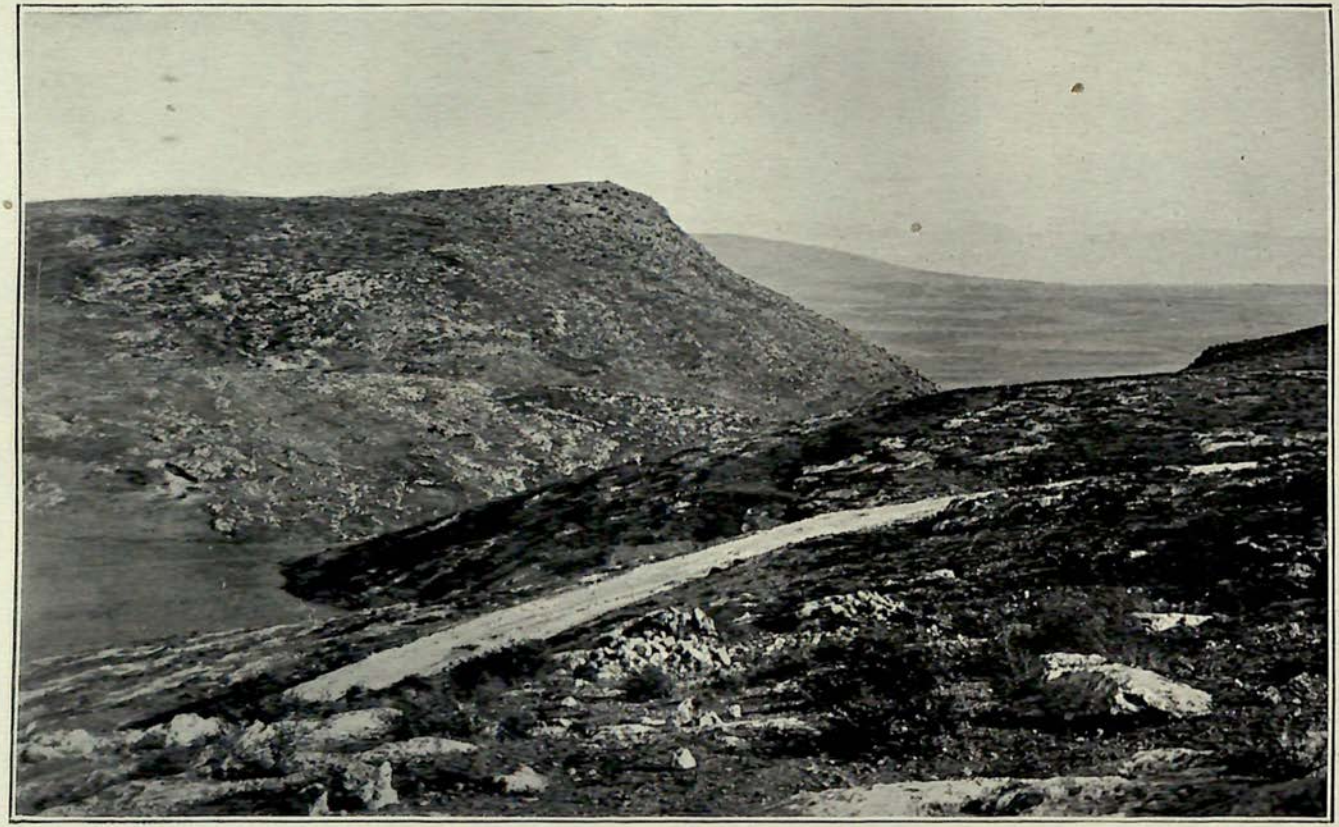
coming or going; olive trees were numerous and the terraces in good preservation; the peasants at work in the fields seemed industrious and paused to look at passers-by less than they would have done in England. Then again the boatmen at Jaffa and on the Sea of Galilee were fine specimens of manhood; and the Syrian middle class, from whom (e. g.) the dragomans were taken, many of them trained in the Mission schools, seemed full of enterprise and energy. We certainly owe a debt of gratitude not only to our dragoman, a Syrian Christian who had all these qualities, but also to our two Mahometan muleteers, who were thoroughly loyal, trustworthy and considerate.

It should be remembered that if the people have hitherto shown no great eagerness to do more than provide for their own simple wants, they have not had much encouragement to do so. There is a vicious circle. Palestine has no good harbours. Therefore its products do not find a ready market. Therefore it is not worth while to produce. Therefore the people fall into somewhat indolent habits. The construction of a good harbour would soon set the blood circulating.

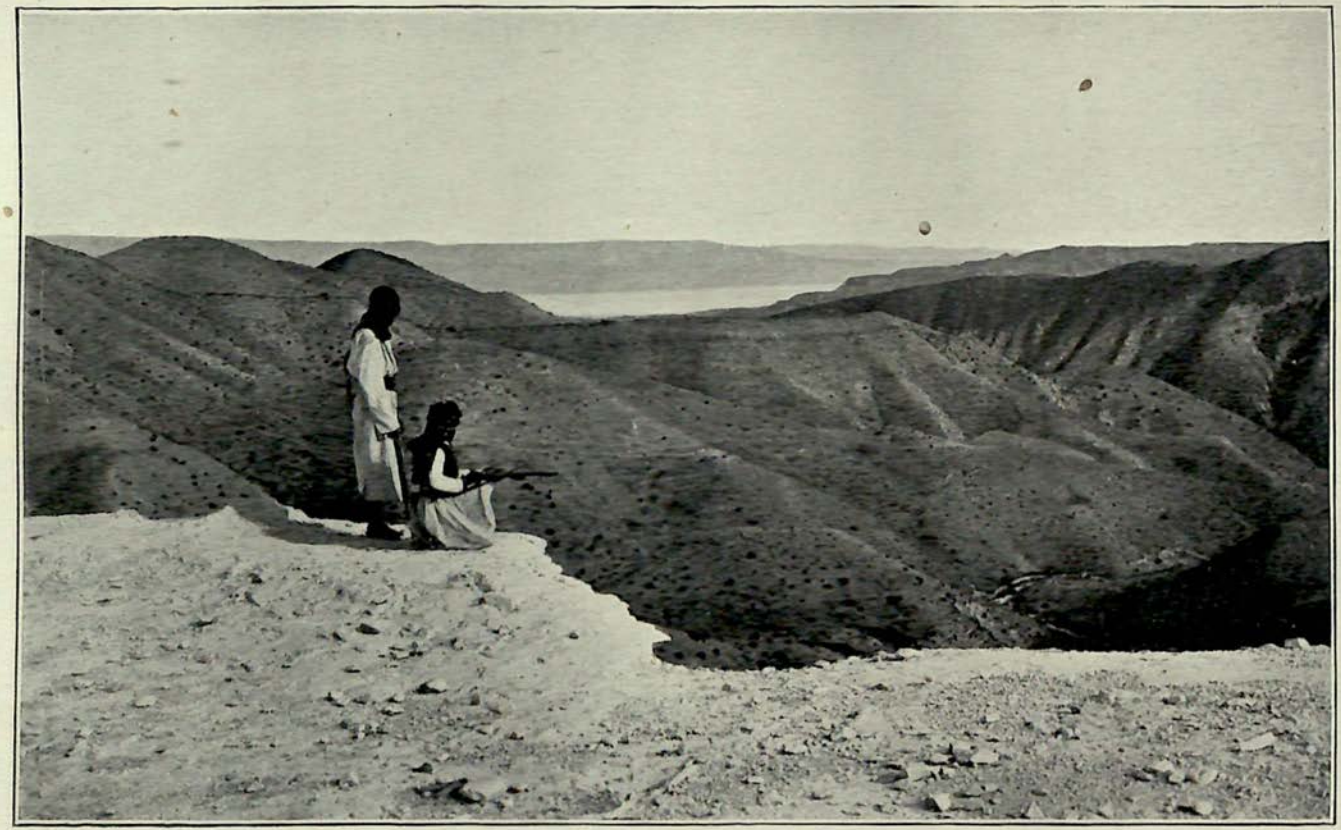
So far as my own experience and knowledge go the account of the character of both land and people that commends itself most is Colonel Conder's in his *Tent Work in Palestine*. He seems to me to see with equal eye both the faults and the virtues.

TYPICAL SCENES: A VILLAGE ON THE MARITIME PLAIN (LYDDA).

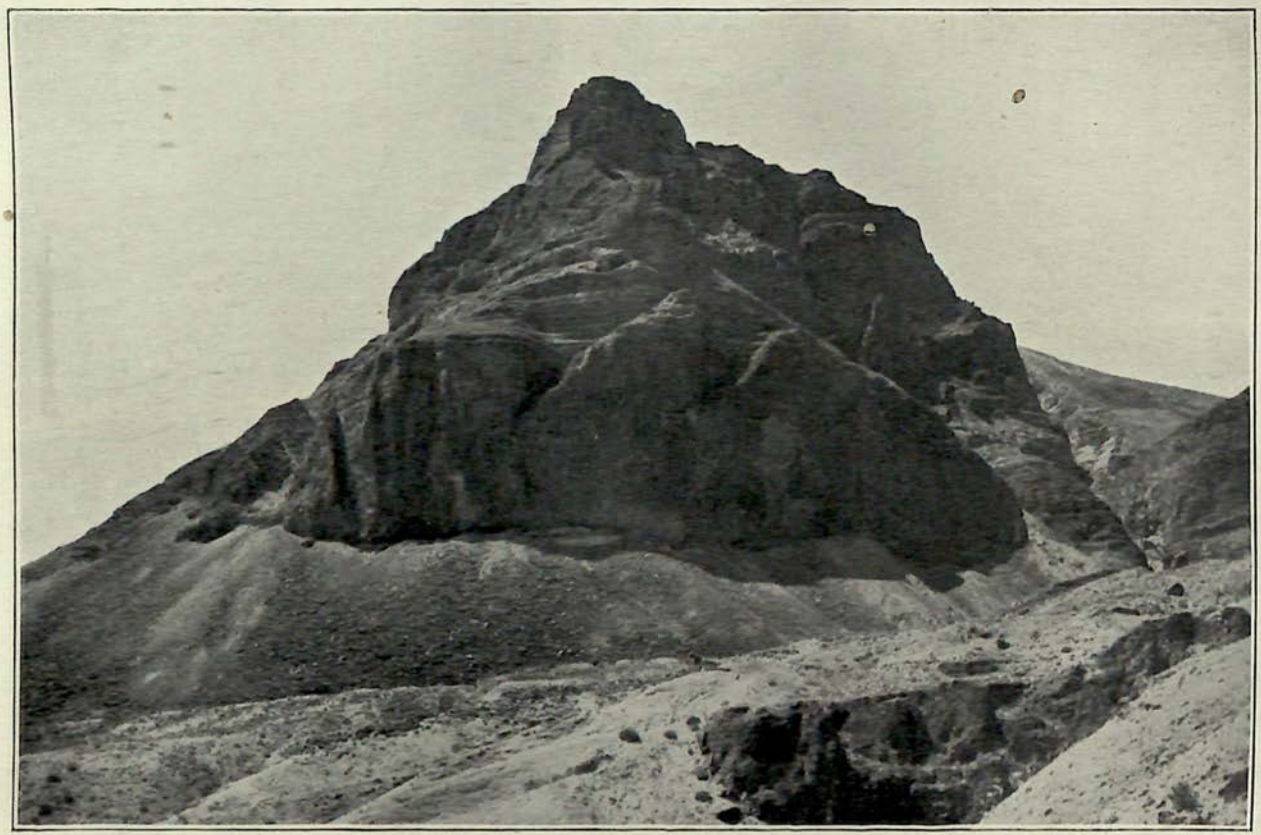
TYPICAL SCENES: A VILLAGE NEAR JERUSALEM (*'Ain Kârim*).



TYPICAL SCENES: CLIFF OVERLOOKING PLAIN, NEAR NAZARETH.



TYPICAL SCENES: THE WILDERNESS OF JUDAEA.



FINIS JUDAEAE: THE ROCK OF MASADA, WHERE THE JEWS MADE THEIR LAST STAND AGAINST TITUS.

NOTES ON PLATES LI—LV.

Plate LI. The luxuriant palms, of which Tacitus speaks as characteristic products of Palestine, are found now only at or near the coast and on or (as at Tiberias) below the sea-level.

Plate LII. *'Ain Kârim* is the traditional birth-place of St. John the Baptist. The photograph will give an idea of the scanty covering of soil on the grey rocks which is characteristic of the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The streaks of soil by their greater or less thickness lend varied colour to the landscape, different shades of ochre and grey preponderating. *Kalôniyeh* (which I believe to be the Emmaus of St. Luke) is in the valley just over the hill on the right.

Plate LIII. This plate will probably contain a small part of the view referred to by Prof. Ramsay (see p. 100; and compare the note on Pl. XXIII B). The plain below is the eastern end of the Plain of Esdraelon.

Plate LV. The top of this cliff was fortified by Herod the Great. After the fall of Jerusalem a band of Zealots with their leader Eleazar succeeded in gaining possession of it, and were besieged here by the Romans. For a long time they defended themselves desperately, and at last, when the place was no longer tenable, they slew first their wives and children and then themselves. When the Romans entered, they found 960 dead bodies; only two women and five children escaped. This was in the year 73.

THE TEMPLE OF HEROD

[PAUL WATERHOUSE]

THERE are three sources to which we may look for primary information in reconstructing the plan, disposition, and detail of the Herodian Temple, and it is on these three sources that the drawings here produced rely. The first is Josephus, the second the Talmudic tract Middoth, and the third is, naturally, the holy site itself, where, in spite of the destruction of the Temple buildings, there are sufficient evidences in the masonry of the outer walls to give testimony as to the size of the external courts.

Josephus in one place (*Ant.* xv. 11. 3) states that the extreme circuit of the outer terrace was four furlongs—a furlong to each side, whereas in another (*B. J.* v. 5. 2) he gives the outside measurement as six furlongs; but inasmuch as this larger figure is stated to include the fortress Antonia, situated at the north-west of the Temple enclosure, there is no necessary discrepancy.

Happily, in view of the difficulty of placing all the Temple accommodation on so small a site, we find that the tract Middoth gives a larger dimension for the Mountain of the House (as the outer court is termed), viz. 500 cubits square (the furlong was 400 cubits), and an appeal to the site reveals the fact that the south embankment wall, which apparently is unchanged in dimension, measures no less than 922 feet (about 615 cubits).

There are good reasons for supposing that the area of the large enclosure visible at the present day is much longer northward than was the original Temple platform, and the fact that beyond the so-called Golden Gate

(which is a comparatively late structure in the eastern wall 1,090 feet north of the south-east angle) the character of the masonry changes points to the probability that the original external wall formed an approximately rectangular enclosure averaging 1,000 feet each way. That it was surrounded by cloisters is asserted by Josephus; who gives their dimensions, and further explains that the south cloister (named the 'Royal') was triple, whereas the others were double, and that the eastern range of columns was Solomon's Porch.

That there were at least five gates to the outer court is attested by Middoth, which mentions two on the south, one on the north (by name Tadi), and one each on the east and west. Josephus, silent as to an Eastern Gate, confirms the existence of gates on the south (as do also the evidences of the existing remains), and amplifies the single Western Gate of Middoth into no less than four; one of these, he says, led by a stairway to the bottom of the valley between the Temple and the city, and another crossed by a bridge to the Royal Palace. Tempting as it is from an architectural point of view to assume that the Bridge Gate was placed at the west end of the Royal Portico, it is sounder archaeology to look for remains of this bridge, not in the arch named after Dr. Robinson, but in the 'Wilson' arch some 200 yards further north. It is certain that the worshipper entering by either of the southern gates found himself not on the level of the Temple platform, but at the foot of a stairway leading up to the platform and probably debouching on the north front of the Royal Colonnade. Inasmuch as Middoth (i. 9) mentions a subway for the priests to the Northern, or Tadi, Gate it is possible that here also the public entered by ascending stairs. The northern end of the subway was perhaps common both to priests and laymen.

The main features of the outer enclosure being thus established, it remains only to consider one point before proceeding to the arrangement of the inner buildings.

What was the position of the castle Antonia? Josephus states that it was at the corner of the western and northern cloisters (*B. J.* v. 5. 8); but, since the northern frontage of the Temple terrace lay along a valley, there is some reason to think that though the entrance towards the castle was in the north-west corner of the colonnades, the castle itself may have been separated from the Temple by a double bridge at the head of the valley (*B. J.* v. 5. 8). The steps leading up to these bridges would be those made famous by St. Paul in Acts xxi. 35.

The written authorities give no very certain indication of the size and shape of the enclosure within the Court of the Gentiles, but Josephus and the tract Middoth are agreed that it was surrounded by a low wall or screen bearing at intervals pillars or panels inscribed with words of caution prohibiting entry to all Gentiles. These inscriptions were in Greek and Latin, and one of them is extant. The height of the wall is given in Middoth as ten handbreadths, by Josephus as three cubits, and its name was Soreg.

In the absence of data as to the size of this intermediate enclosure, we are left to determine it by inference; the plotting out of the buildings contained therein, for which the Middoth supplies fairly full figures, determines its minimum extent, and it is soon found that if we are to adhere to the statement in Middoth that the south court of the Gentile enclosure was the largest, the east next large, and the north larger than the west, there is not much choice left as to the position or size of the aggregate assembly of buildings. We are indeed confirmed in the accuracy of the result by finding that the arrangement thus secured places the great altar approximately upon the spot which is the highest natural level of the hilltop. This coincides with the present Dome of the Rock, a building which (however seriously its traditions may have been perverted)

can reasonably be supposed to mark a spot of original sanctity. On the general arrangement of the courts within the Soreg there is little doubt. From the Soreg twelve (Mid. ii. 3) or fourteen steps (*B. J.* v. 5. 2) led to a platform ten cubits wide known to the Talmud-writers as Chel, and from the level of Chel there were nine entrances to the inner enclosures by means of nine gateways or gate-houses, as to the number and size of which the Middoth and Josephus are in substantial harmony. The fact that Middoth (i. 4) speaks of seven gates only and that Josephus, in spite of his enumeration of ten gates in *B. J.* v. 5. 3, speaks, in *Ant.* xv. 11. 5, of three gates on the north and three on the south, is easily explained by the supposition that two of the side-gates (north and south) were entrances to the women's enclosure, and were consequently not reckoned either by Josephus or the Rabbis in enumerating the gates of the Court of Israel, which is understood to have three northern, three southern and one eastern gate.

That the women's court lay east of the enclosure to which the men of Israel only were admitted is clear from Josephus, but on the subject of its size and arrangement there is divergence of antiquarian opinion. The book Middoth states clearly that it measured 135 cubits each way and that it had at each corner a roofless room forty cubits square. The purposes of these rooms as indicated on the plan are those detailed in Middoth. Modern writers, unwilling to accept such large dimensions for the women's court and experiencing a difficulty in reconciling the Talmudic figures with the small total breadths given by Josephus, have felt at liberty to reject the testimony of Middoth; but, taking as we do our outside dimensions from the actual site, not from Josephus (or even from Middoth itself), we have no arithmetical reason for rejecting the Talmudic dimensions of this court.

That the Court of Women was colonnaded is probable from Josephus, *B. J.* v. 5. 2, also from *Ant.* xv. 11. 3,

a passage which may be held to imply the existence of a double row of columns along the whole of the wall separating the women's court from that of Israel. Such a portico, providing a partition without obstructing vision, may well be the 'lattice' of Middoth ii. 5, which allowed women to see from above and men from beneath. There would be no doubt a stairway at each end to the women's upper platform, and beneath these stairs might be the rooms for the musical instruments of the Levites (Mid. ii. 6).

The gateway in the centre of this colonnade or lattice gallery was probably the Nicanor Gate of Middoth, whose brass glittered like gold—identical with the Corinthian Gate, or gate of Corinthian brass, which Josephus says opened on the east over against the Holy of Holies—identical also, we may believe, with the Beautiful Gate of the Acts of the Apostles. The fifteen steps which led up to it, semicircular like the half of a threshing-floor (Mid. ii. 5), formed the platform on which the Levites chanted. Middoth speaks of an Eastern Gate on which was portrayed the city Shushan. It is implied that this is a gate of the *outer* enclosure, in which case it may be identical in position with the more recent and still existing Golden Gate (at the north-east angle of the site).

From the passage Chel to the Court of Israel five steps ascended, but from the women's court were, as we have seen, fifteen steps. This proves either that the women's court was some few feet lower than Chel or, as Spiess opines, that whereas the five steps from the Chel were each nine inches high (Middoth) the steps out of the women's court were but three inches each in height. The latter is the interpretation adopted in this restoration.

It will be observed that on the plan a certain obliquity is indicated in the women's court, and further that the northern portion of the Court of the Gentiles is depicted as being on a higher level than the Gentile court on the

south-east and west sides. The reason for both these inequalities is to be found in the nature of the existing remains. There is to be seen at the present day an upper platform (forming the terrace on which the Dome of the Rock stands), the outline of which is so definite that it seems impossible to regard it as entirely a modern creation. The very fact that this platform is oblique on its eastern side points strongly to the probability that it is the survival of some ancient oblique structure, and the further fact that its south and west limits coincide respectively to the expected position of the southern Chel and the western flank of the Temple terrace almost forces the conclusion that its northern and western outlines are also to be respected as vestiges of antique form. By admitting the possibility of a change of level in the northern Court of the Gentiles, the question of the north boundary is settled; for the limit of the present platform coincides with our already-established line of northern cloister. Further, the admission of obliquity on the east solves this eastern boundary also. Such an obliquity would no doubt be primarily brought about by the conformation of the virgin rock, and though its divergence from rectangularity is conspicuous in a plan on paper it is not so great as to be a noticeable inequality in an actual building, nor does it interfere with the possibility of a direct *coup d'œil* through the two eastern gates to the door of the sanctuary over the centre of the great altar. The only unexpected feature which the adoption of this eastern line of the upper platform introduces is an extended platform or raised terrace along the western side of the women's court; but, as we are aware that extended standing room on the higher level would be valuable at this point, there is every reason for accepting the arrangement here indicated.

The tract Middoth gives 187 cubits by 135 as the dimensions of 'the whole of the court'—a statement which has given rise to much natural confusion. The reasonable

assumption that the space so figured is the entire area bounded by the wall containing the gates leads to a variety of difficulties, and it is only by realizing that the 'whole of the court' means the priestly enclosure exclusive of the general Court of Israel that the adjustment of the measurements becomes easy. A further confusion arises from the statement in Middoth that the 'place for the tread of the feet of Israel' and the 'place for the tread of the priests' were each of them 11 cubits wide by 135 cubits long. Some have supposed that the former insignificant passage represented the entire Court of male Israelites, but since the Court of the Priests at all events could not be confined into a space of small dimensions it is only right to suppose that the 'place of the tread of Israel' was a separate enclosure from the general Court of male Israelites. It is indeed clear that (in spite of the fact that the Talmudic description of the House Moked favours the notion that it opened directly into the more sacred enclosure) the six gates led into a Court of Israel which surrounded on three sides the compound enclosure ('whole of the court'), measuring 187 cubits by 135 cubits, which, besides encircling the Holy Place (Jos., *B. J.* v. 5. 6) contained two narrow passages for priests and people respectively engaged in special ritual connected with the altar of burnt sacrifices which stood within the priestly enclosure. There would seem to have been a metal fence between the priests' court and that of the men of Israel, and the latter was apparently 2½ cubits lower.

Josephus and the tract Middoth differ as to the dimensions of the altar. The height given by Josephus (15 cubits) is not necessarily at variance with the dimensions of Middoth iii. 1, but his width of 50 cubits can only be approximately harmonized with the 32 cubits of Middoth by assuming that to the 32 cubits of the altar proper we may add the 16 cubits which make the width of the inclined ascent.

Whatever doubts and discrepancies may hinder the restoration of the outer portions of the Temple buildings, there need be no uncertainty as to the disposition and size of the sanctuary. That its front or façade was 100 cubits wide and the same in height is attested by both our written authorities, and both agree that the western portion of the building was narrower. Josephus puts the width at 60 cubits, Middoth at 70, a difference which is not material. Both agree that there were three compartments of the Holy House—a 'porch' or outer hall (which Josephus considers to be 20 cubits wide, but Middoth puts at 11), a central chamber which both describe as 40 cubits by 20, and the Holy of Holies, 20 cubits square. Opinions have differed as to the size and form of the outer door of the porch, and English students are familiar with the late James Fergusson's ingenious and plausible attempt to find in the description given by the book Middoth a reflex of the 'Toran' of an Oriental temple. Without entering into the details of the argument for or against this assumption, we may remark that a building which was the joint product of Jewish tradition and of Herod's Roman culture is not likely to have borrowed the architectural symbolism of disconnected Oriental religion, and that unless it can be conclusively proved that this doorway was the representative of the Jachin and Boaz of Solomon's building, and that they in turn actually were the supports of a wooden erection of a kind similar to these Eastern Torans, there is little reason for forcing the descriptions of our two authorities to an interpretation which they do not very readily bear. Josephus and Middoth differ in the dimensions of the great doorway, but if we may assume that it was formed with inclined jambs like the doorway of the Erechtheum, and that it had, like the synagogue at Kefr Bir'im, an arch above the wooden lintels which the Talmud so accurately describes (Mid. iii. 7), then it may well happen that Josephus' 25 cubits

and the 20 cubits of Middoth may be respectively the widths at the bottom and top of the opening, while the two heights 70 cubits (Joseph.) and 40 cubits (Mid.) may be the heights of the lintel in one case and the arch in the other. One is tempted to take the ἐνέφαινε of Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5. 4) literally and to imagine therefrom that the first chamber or hall was hypaethral, exhibiting (not symbolizing) the 'universal visibility of heaven.' But the undoubtedly metaphorical use of the same word by Josephus in a neighbouring passage and the 'roof' alluded to in Mid. iii. 8 compel us reluctantly to consider this chamber as being closed in. Josephus insists on the fact that the centre of the Temple was taller than its sides, an arrangement which, in spite of the 'upper chamber' recorded by the Rabbis, would give the opportunity of illumination by a sort of clerestory over the roof of the side buildings. The Holy of Holies we assume to have been without windows, but the central chamber and the outer hall must undoubtedly have needed light. The gallery, or more properly sloping passage, of Mid. iv. 5 is by some writers assumed to be a winding stair; but the very circumstantial description of the course of this passage round the north, west, and south sides of the building leaves no doubt that it was in reality an inclined way giving circuitous access to the upper chamber. Owing to its continual change of level, it is obvious that it could only provide approach to some of the small chambers, of which there were three stories. It was no doubt for this reason that every one of the chambers communicated not only with those on each side of it, but also by a trap-door with the room above or below.

There were, say the writers of Middoth, six chambers or houses in the Temple court, three on the north and three on the south, and of the three on the south one was Gazith, the chamber of hewn stone, the hall of the Sanhedrin. But Josephus is in disagreement here, and

appears to place the hall of the Sanhedrin in the neighbourhood of the Xystus (the colonnaded building over against the Temple on the southern hill). It has been assumed in the plan that it was an erection adjoining the bridge leading from the Temple to the town.

Note. The quotations from Middoth are all taken from the English version reprinted in Fergusson's *Temples of the Jews* from Dr. Barclay's work on the Talmud.

HEROD'S TEMPLE

Alphabetical references to the plan.

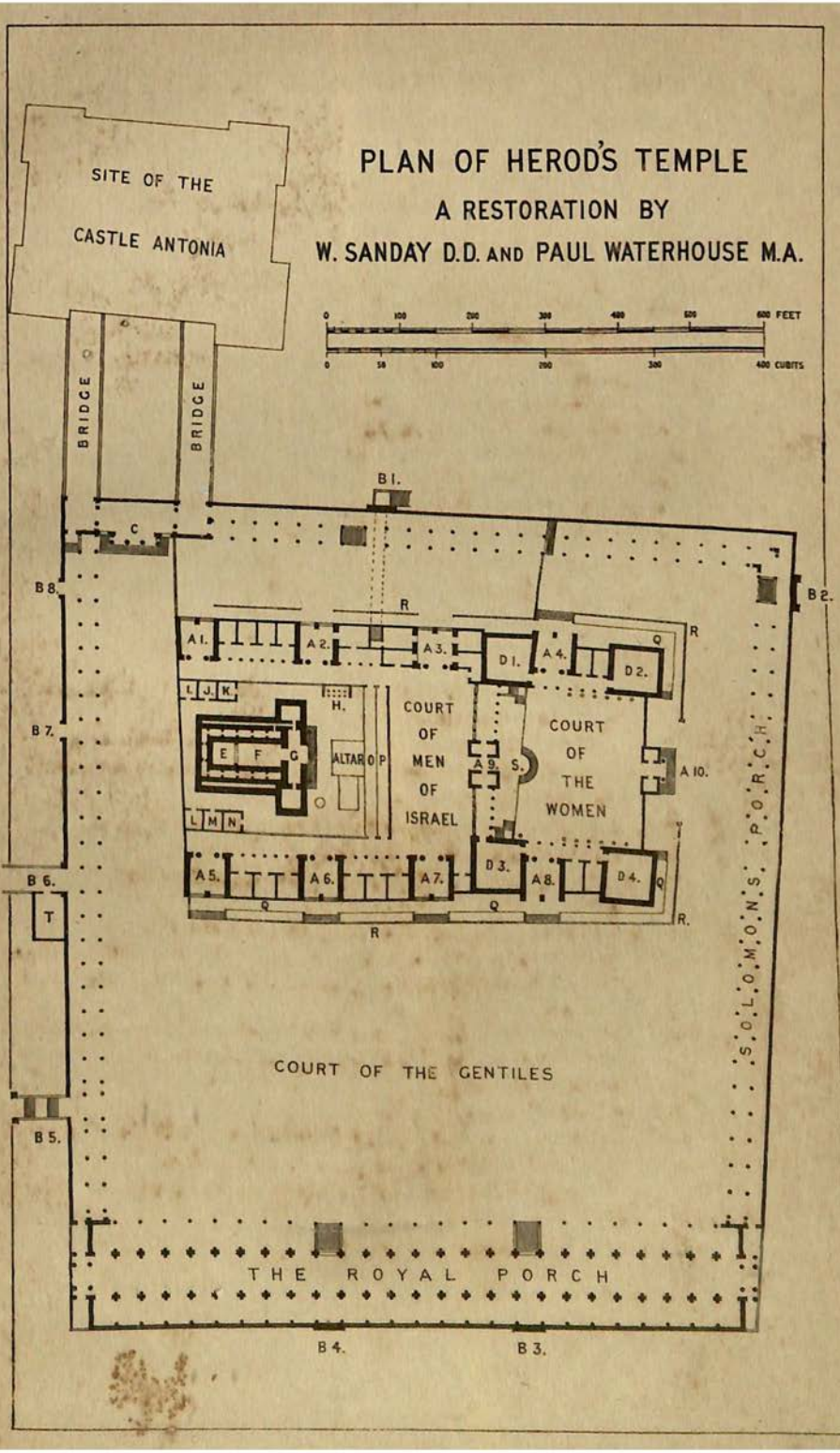
A. 1. The gate-house Nitzus.
A. 2. The gate-house of the Offering.
A. 3. The gate-house Moked.
A. 4. The gate-house of *Jochania (?).*
A. 5. The gate-house of Flaming.
A. 6. The gate-house of Offering.
A. 7. The Water gate-house.

Vide Middoth, ch. i. and ch. ii. Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5. 3.

A. 8. The gate-house of the Firstborn (?).
A. 9. The Beautiful or Nicanor Gate. Mid. ii. 3; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5. 3.
A. 10. The gate of the women's court (?).

Note. The thirteen circular objects ranged on either side of the women's court in front of the columns are the trumpet-mouthed money-boxes for receipt of alms.

B. 1. The gate Tadi (Mid. i. 3 and ii. 3) with a subway to the House Moked.
B. 2. Probable position of the Shushan Gate (Mid. i. 3), being the position of the still existing Golden Gate.
B. 3, 4. Two Huldah gates (Mid. i. 3) from which, being at a low level, staircases led up to the Court of the Gentiles underneath the Royal Porch.
B. 5. A gate with descending steps. Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11. 5.
B. 6. A gate with a bridge. Joseph. ibid.
B. 7, 8. Two gates to conduct to the commercial suburb. Joseph. ibid.
C. A conjectural portico with steps forming the entrance to the bridges or causeways leading to the fortress Antonia. This portico is the probable scene of St. Paul's speech. Acts xxi. 40.
D. 1. The chamber of Lepers. D. 2. The chamber of Wood. D. 3. The chamber of Oil. D. 4. The chamber of Nazirites. All these were roofless. Mid. ii. 5.
E. The Holy of Holies.
F. The Sanctuary, containing the Candlestick, the Table of Shew-bread and the Altar of Incense. Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5. 4.
G. The Porch, and the House of the Instruments of Slaughter. Mid. iv. 7.
H. The Slaughter-house. Mid. iii. 5.


PLAN OF HEROD'S TEMPLE
A RESTORATION BY
W. SANDAY D.D. AND PAUL WATERHOUSE M.A.
SITE OF THE
CASTLE ANTONIA
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 FEET
0 50 100 200 300 400 CUBITS
BRIDGE
BRIDGE
B1.
B2.
B3.
B4.
B5.
B6.
B7.
B8.
C
R
A1.
A2.
A3.
D1.
A4.
D2.
Q
L J K
H.
E F G
ALTAR O P
COURT OF MEN OF ISRAEL
A9.
S.
COURT OF THE WOMEN
A10.
L M N
A5.
A6.
A7.
D3.
A8.
D4.
T
S.O.L.O.M.O.N.S. P.O.R.C.H.
COURT OF THE GENTILES
THE ROYAL PORCH

I. J. K. The chamber of Salt, the chamber of Parva and the chamber of Washers. Mid. v. 3.

L. M. N. The chamber of Wood, the chamber of Captivity, and the chamber of the High Priest (?). Mid. v. 4.

O. The Place for the Tread of the Priests.
P. The Place for the Tread of the Feet of Israel. } Mid. v. 1.

Q. Chel. A passage way or terrace. Mid. ii. 3 and Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5. 2.

R. The wall or partition Soreg. Mid. ii. 3 and Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5. 2.

S. Fifteen steps of semicircular form (Mid. ii. 5). The platform west of the steps is conjectural, but the outline of the present upper platform makes its existence more than probable.

T. Conjectural position of the council-chamber where the Sanhedrin met. Josephus favours some such position. The Talmud assigns the meetings to the chamber of Hewn Stone (Gazith), which Middoth would place in the same block with L. M. N.

Note. The smallness of the scale has rendered impossible the delineation of the full number of steps in each staircase. The Chel should be 12 (Mid.) or 14 (Joseph.) steps above the southern Court of the Gentiles, and the steps of the Holy House are 12. Mid. iii. 6.

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THE PLAN OF JERUSALEM

[W. SANDAY]

THIS plan is based on the work of F. Spiess, *Das Jerusalem des Josephus* (Berlin, 1881), brought up to date by the help of more recent works, especially Bliss and Dickie's *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894–7, and with some additions and variations.

It should be understood that the assignment of sites is, and must be, in many cases very approximate. We know in general terms that there were seven synagogues in the neighbourhood of the Cenaculum (p. 82, sup.); we know in general terms that the Upper Agora, the House of Ananias, and the Monument of Hyrcanus were in the region in which they are placed; but anything more precise than this must be conjecture. Still there is usually some slight reason, in default of a better, for the particular sites selected.

For instance, Spiess and others have, I do not doubt rightly, seen that the modern *Ḥaret el-Maidân* ('Racecourse Lane') ought to be the site of Herod's Hippodrome. I place the Theatre near it, not only because the juxtaposition is in itself natural, but also because there is a curve in a modern street, which looks as if it might preserve the configuration given when the Theatre was standing. In like manner the Upper Agora is placed on the line of a main thoroughfare which probably existed in ancient times much where it does now. There is also a second street parallel to this which might be taken to mark the breadth of the Agora. The thoroughfare would carry with it the position of the gate in the ancient wall.

Spiess has, I believe, rightly fixed the position of the Council-Chamber, the Archives, the Xystus, and the Maccabean Palace, except that it seems to me better to place the two latter side by side, than one below the other. I did not think it worth while to alter the plan, but I now incline to think that the Hyrcanus

Monument would be better placed on the other (western) side of the Agora. It was a landmark several times mentioned in the history of the siege; near it the Romans made one of their main attacks, after they had broken through the second wall.

I have gone upon the assumption that both the eastern and the western ridge had inner walls of their own. The Upper City had to be taken separately, after the Lower had fallen. And the line suggested in each case follows the trace of old foundations. It is however a question precisely how old these foundations are; and this the *data* in Bliss and Dickie do not quite enable one to solve. I have left out of the map, as needlessly confusing, traces of other foundations that might perhaps have a claim to be considered. These are points that the experts on the spot must settle for us more exactly. I may say that I chose the line which seemed to follow the natural scarp of the hill.

On the vexed question as to *Akra* and the ancient Zion, I have simply followed those whom I believe to be the best authorities. But I have noted (p. 78) the important dissent of Dr. Mommert (1903), to whom should be added his co-religionist Prof. Rückert (1898). The decision involves points of Old Testament exegesis on which I am not prepared to enter.

The use of colours must not be pressed too strictly. I have sometimes used red for buildings known to have existed in the early Herodian period, although they may be considerably older.

PLAN OF
JERUSALEM
Scale of Feet
Gordon's Calvary
BEZETHA
Church of the Holy Sepulchre
Christian
HARAM AREA
Gate Genneath
Herod's Palace
Theatre
Hippodrome
UPPER CITY
ZION
WESTERN HILL
House of Caiaphas
Cenaculum
Gate
Pool of Siloam
KIDRON VALLEY
VALLEY OF HINNOM
Reference to Colours.
Black indicates the most ancient period.
Red . . . the period 142 B.C. to 30 A.D.
Yellow . . . . 30 A.D. to 70 A.D.
Green . . . . 70 A.D. to 1900 A.D.
S.S. Synagogues

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PALESTINE
Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30
SIDON
Belfort
TYRE
Ladder of Tyre
PTOLEMAIS (Acre)
Caiphas
Mt HERMON
To Damascus
CAESAREA PHILIPPI or PANEAS (Banias)
ITURAEA
Kafr Birim
Gischala
Meiron
Safed
UPPER
GALILEE
LOWER
Jetapata
Arbela
Plain of Asochis
CHORAZIN
Tell Hum
CAPERNAUM?
BETHSAIDA
Gaulanitis
Sea of Galilee
MAGDALA
TIBERIAS
Kersa
Gamala
Hippos
Hafir
Mt CARMEL
Castellum Peregrinorum Athlit
Sepphoris
Cana?
Bet Lahm
NAZARETH
Dabaritta
MT TABOR
Tarichaeae
Ruk el Hammam
Japha
PLAIN OF ESDRAELON
NAIN
LITTLE HERMON
Batanaea
GADARA
MEGIDDO
JEZREEL
Belvoir
BETHABARA
Scythopolis
Mt GILBOA
CAESAREA PALAESTINA
EN-GANNIM
? SALIM
? AENON
Pella
Decapolis
SAMARIA
SAMARIA
Amnun
Mt EBAL
EYCHAR
SICHEM
JACOBS WELL
Salim
Nahr Faria
Mt GERIZIM
Gerasa
Nahr Bozra
Apollonia
ARTIPATRIS
Kam Sartabeh
Jebel Osha
SHILOH
JOPPA
ARIMATHEA
Phasaelis
Batanè
es-Salt
EPHRAIM
LYDDA
MODIN
BETHEL
RABBAH AMMON Philadelphia
(LOWER) BETH HORON (UPPER)
BEEROTH
Jamnia
GEZER
Emmaus Nicopolis Amwas
el Kubebeh
Mt Quarantana
JERICHO
Wady el Kelt
FORDS OF JORDAN
Hesban
AZOTUS
EMMAUS
Ain Karim
JERUSALEM
Bethsura
Mar Sâbâ
BETHLEHEM
Blanchegarde
Herodium (Frank Mountain)
ASCALON
Eleutheropolis
HEBRON
JUDAEA
Dead Sea
Machaerus
GAZA
Masada
To Egypt
BEERSHEBA
KIR MOAB (el-Kerak)
Reference.
Biblical Names thus TYRE
Josephus & Roman „ Gabara
Crusading „ Belfort
Modern „ Athlit
The Oxford Geographical Institute
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